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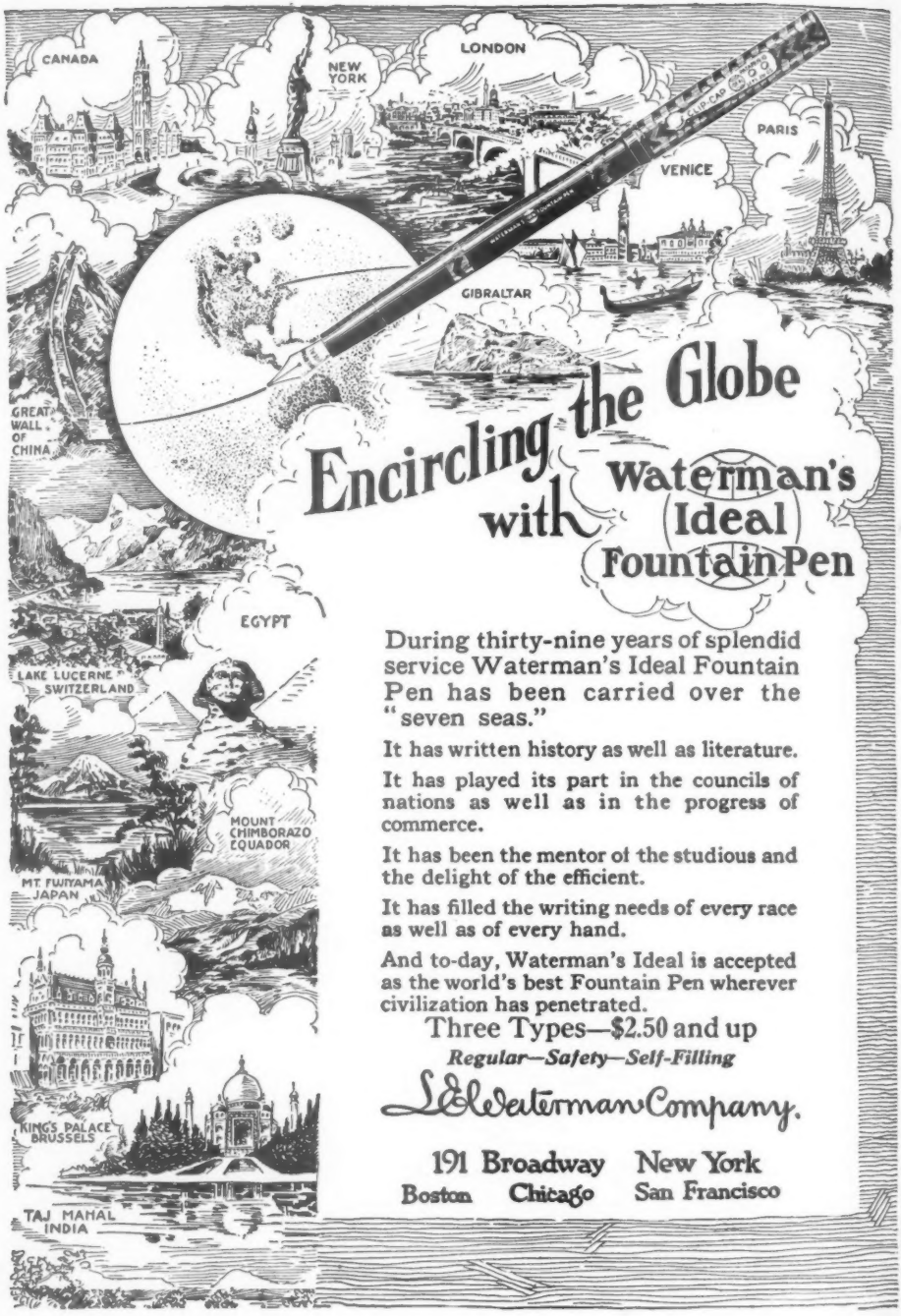

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OUR WORLD

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ENVOYS OF UNDERSTANDING No. 5

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PRINCE GELASIO CAETANI

Who has recently been appointed Ambassador to America by King Victor Emanuel III, at the suggestion of Premier Mussolini, is one of the most popular leaders of the new Italy. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1903 and practised engineering in the West, particularly in Montana. During the war he enlisted in the Italian Military Engineering Corps and directed the remarkable feat of blowing up the summit of Col di Lana, an Austrian stronghold in Val Cordevole on the Italian mountain front. At the end of the war he entered public life, and became a deputy in Parliament in 1921.

OUR WORLD

A Magazine of Understanding

FEBRUARY, 1923 VOL. 2, NO. 5

Why The Fascisti Rule Italy

By His Excellency, the Italian Ambassador to the United States

FOR over four years Europe, upset by the after effects of the great war, has been engaged in painful and so far vain attempts to recover from an almost superhuman effort and to return to a normal and well balanced life. The most eminent men of the world have been convened in many solemn conferences, but the actual results have been very limited. The cause can be traced to the subjective consideration which has been given to world problems, whereas the solution sought for is to be found only in an objective analysis aiming at the common welfare of all the nations concerned.

No different has been the situation in the internal affairs of many countries, including Italy. During all these years the various political parties of Italy have sought for a solution of the nation's after-war problems mostly with a purpose of satisfying some selfish interest, with the result that the country has been ceaselessly tormented and agitated.

In the heart of the people, however, there was a feeling that ultimate safety depended upon the sacrifice of personal interests for the welfare of the community; the people suffered silently in the hope that their sacrifice would at last bear fruit. Meanwhile subversive elements grew more powerful, threatening to bring ruin ultimately to the country. Then the national conscience awoke and rebelled. All that was best in the country, the youth yet uncontaminated by selfishness, the middle class, the soundest elements among the workmen and peasants, tired of illusion, and those of all classes who, fighting strenuously for the victory of the Italian arms, had forged the common bond of devotion to their country, united in the so-called "Fasci di combattimento" (which can be translated "Bands of Veterans") and bravely faced the red danger, not hesitating, when necessary, to shed their own blood.

Not only Bolshevism had to be fought, but it was also necessary to rebuild the economic, social and political structure of the country at the cost, if necessary, of new personal sacrifices. Under the flag of Fascismo and the guidance of Mussolini and other high minded men, the Italian people have fought also against those base methods of politics which, by splitting the country into numerous and useless parties, were making public affairs chiefiy a means to advance personal ambitions. The victory is a lasting one because it has brought to the surface some of the fundamental qualities of the Italian people, which were latent as far as its political life is concerned but which anyone acquainted with the soul of the people and with their thrifty strenuous efforts to combat economic difficulties could not ignore as among the best assets of the country.

Party divisions are fading before the broader and deeper conception that the welfare of Italy must predominate over any personal consideration, before a high ideal of national discipline and before the acknowledgment that the leadership of strong and capable men will bring about the ultimate prosperity of all classes of society.

This is the Italy of to-day. Americans looked first with curiosity, then with interest, and now look with sympathy to this movement which expresses so clearly their conception of what should be the individual devotion to the common welfare. It is a return to the full consciousness of national duties; it is a first example of a genuine promise to do all that is humanly possible to restore an era of peace and of prosperity to our tormented world.

The New Day In Italy

The Nationalistic Movement Which Has Grown into a Dictatorship Under Benito Mussolini Marks an Advance in the Endeavor of the Italian People Toward Unity

By Arthur Livingston

Dr. Livingston, head of the Italian and Spanish Bureau of the Foreign Press Service, in his analysis of the rise of the Fascisti to power, writes from thorough knowledge of the political and economic life of Italy, based on personal experience and many years of special study

THE bewildering and chaotic events in Italy that have attended the growth of Fascismo from an obscure movement of ex-soldiers to a legalized dictatorship find their essential unity in the personality of Benito Mussolini, and in the two or three ideas which he incarnates.

In the formation of that personality early environment has played a large part. Mussolini is a native of the province of Romagna which has ever been a stewpot of political agitation, which knows no political method save the method of violence, and which defines manhood as courageous defiance of established authority.

His ideas represent a systematization of these inborn tendencies under the influence of one or two thinkers, his personal friends, who have had some vogue in Europe, Georges Sorel and Wilfred Pareto.

Sorel is the theorist of violence; the exponent of a doctrine that the small, determined aggressive minority can always dominate the vast bewildered divided majority, too absorbed in the concerns of daily life to see distant objectives clearly, too much at cross purposes with itself to take effective measures for controlling its own destinies.

Pareto is the subtle critic of democracy, the Machiavelli of an industrialized commercial world, who shows the methods by which, and the purposes for which, now this group of interests and now that gets control of the greatest republics, and the most arrogant dynasties, to establish one

Benito Mussolini has given expression to the spirit of the new day that has dawned in Italy in a recent address to the Italian Parliament. A passage from the Prime Minister's speech is printed here because it interprets with such clarity and power the force that has stirred Italians all over the world:

"Our Foreign Policies are to be those of peace, yet firm and dignified. We mean to give order to the Nation and law shall reign. Let our adversaries of yesterday, or today and of tomorrow have no further illusions that our control of the Government is to be brief. These illusions are childish and stupid. Our Government has built its strong foundation in the very conscience of the Nation, and it is supported by the best, the latest of Italian generations—the new life of Italy. A giant step towards national spiritual unity has been, without any doubt, accomplished within these last days. This Italian homeland of ours, from North to South, from the continent to its generous islands, Sardinia and Sicily, which shall no longer be forgotten, from its great cities to its industrious colonies of the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, once again has found itself.

"Let us get to work with a pure heart and clear head to assure the prosperity and greatness of our country.

"May God help me in successfully fulfilling my strenuous task.

"Benito Mussolini."

form of government: the oligarchy.

Contempt, therefore, for the mob, contempt for the politician, contempt for anything which is not will and which is not action—these are outstanding traits in Mussolini, a born leader of men, a modern "signorotto" of the Italian rural districts who rode the black horse of proletarian revolution for the first half of his life, and who now chooses the white horse of patriotism for the rest of his ride to domination and immortality.

An interesting problem of ethics will confront the future historian of Italian Fascismo: in June, 1914, Benito Mussolini was on the brink of conquering Italy as the leader of a turbulent revolutionary Socialism. Over night he deserted his comrades, entered the war, fought as a gallant soldier and, returning as a wounded hero, organized a movement which has beaten, murdered, lynched his former friends and destroyed the proletarian army of which he was once the trusted general.

Such changes are never pardoned in international wars. Do the same principles hold in civil wars?

The fact is, as Pareto would contend, that ethics count for little in politics. Men of action never bother with ethical principles except to destroy their enemies with them or to gain the support of people who believe in them. Politics is an art, not a religion or a philosophy.

Mussolini, it should be further observed, inherited his Socialism from his environment. He was a consistent Socialist so long as his vision was confined by the mountain barriers of his native province. Stepping quite unexpectedly into the leadership of his party at the Congress of Reggio Emilia in 1913, he learned many things on going up to the big city of Milan, whence, from a position of vantage, he could view the whole of Italy and the whole of Europe. Supposing, now, after a war-time introspection, he found that the Italian in him was stronger, more fundamental, than the proletarian in him?

Though he had played with it among the Trentino Irredentists somewhat earlier, Mussolini seized upon the national idea ("Italy above all else") in 1914; and he has clung to it with the same dogged determination, he has used it with the same reckless and heroic enthusiasm, which he showed in wielding the international Socialist idea. His vision of a great and strong Italy has been with him from the beginnings of Fascismo. True to his conception of politics and of history, he sought in the army of returned soldiers that aggressive minority which could be turned into an oligarchy.

Democratic politicians saw the same thing. Around the ideas of "nation" and "war sacrifice" they organized the "Party of Combatants" with a program for the regeneration of Italy on a popular, a people's, basis. This party was a device for emasculating the political power of the soldier—not for using it. Contrast the assumptions: for the politicians, the soldier was a man who could vote; for Mussolini he was a man who could fight. Mussolini has a contempt for politicians. The joke is that he also has a contempt for soldiers. He can make them both do what he wants.

The national idea, then, plus the soldier idea: Italy above all else, but through the agency, and under the direction, of those who, by their blood, saved her. Such is the fundamental, the basic formula of Fascismo.

Its fundamental purpose was, or successively became, to destroy each of the antagonists of the national idea: Socialism, Clerical agrarianism, the bureaucratic, paternalistic State. Successively, because Mussolini has wanted one thing at a time. After

getting it he has wanted something else, and something bigger. In attaining each, he has used, and allowed himself to be used by, different elements, different interests, different ideas—swallowing them all, in the end, till it is a question whether he will be able finally to digest them.

Mussolini's first resource, for his war on the Socialist Party, was that group of patriotic nationalistic Socialists who had abandoned internationalism to fight through the war. Among these some of the best, most energetic elements of the old Socialism were to be found. The cleavage had been, indeed, a long standing one. Official Socialism preached redemption of the Italian workingman as part of a world redemption of the workingman. The syndicalistic current in the Italian proletarian movement sought immediate specific gains for the Italian worker as an Italian.

Some of the first *Fasci di combattimento* (soldiers' unions) had programs for the regeneration of Italy on a radical, syndicalistic basis. Now since, in its final phases, Fascismo triumphs over Socialism by absorbing hundreds of thousands of the old Socialist rank-and-file, this tendency in Fascismo has been strengthened.

In one of its aspects Fascismo represents the nationalization of Italian Socialism. To ignore the Socialistic origins of Mussolini himself, and to ignore the role played in Fascismo by such men as the syndicalist Bianchi, Secretary General of the Fascisti, one has to be a thorough gentleman and more or less half-witted.

A second, and very important resource for Mussolini's war on the Socialists was capitalistic, industrialist Italy—those manufacturers and employers who kept meeting more and more exorbitant demands from their organized workers, who saw their profits eliminated by sabotage, and their factories seized by labor.

Such men welcomed in Fascismo an

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FOLLOWERS OF MUSSOLINI
Giving the salute to the poet-warrior, D'Annunzio

instrument, providentially supplied, for the disruption of labor organizations. Their expectations from the Fascisti stopped, also, just there. Supplying funds aplenty for the early consolidation of the movement, and funds less willingly for the later expansion of the movement, they never intended to put Mussolini into power. And when insurgent Fascismo passed from the solicitation of voluntary contributions to the exaction of enforced contributions; when Fascismo, in extension and application of its tendency toward nationalistic Socialism, took the workers under its wing and pledged itself to conserve the gains made by labor in a social war of forty years' duration, Italian capitalists turned—too late—against Fascismo, overestimating the resisting powers of the democratic constitutional State.

Between "capitalists" distinctions are in order. There are manufacturers and employers of labor in Italy who have created the real industrial values of the nation; who take a patriotic pride in their creative effort; and who understand their work in its social and moral connections.

But there is also a "political industry" in Italy, an industry not grounded on natural conditions and which survives only through governmental protection and the manipulation of the machinery of the State.

The "Nationalist Party" is the creation of this latter type of industry; a party whose social function is the maintenance of a favorable atmosphere for political intrigue. Imperialistic in foreign policy, favoring the capture by force of foreign territories to supply resources that Italy lacks, it is Bolshevistic in domestic policy; it too gets its ideas from Sorel, evolving a theory of "bourgeois Bolshevism" which calls for the dictatorship of the millionariat. It is the party of patriotic demagogues, although it makes

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GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

Saluting the Fascisti. The poet has since broken with Mussolini and is again an enigmatic figure in Italian politics

no great campaign for votes, contenting itself with direct pressure upon successive governments.

Where conservative industry gave lire to Fascismo, political industry gave dollars and pounds, seeking in the

movement not legitimate relief from unjust abuses, but actual control of the country. The Nationalistic element in Fascismo supplies its most obstreperous and selfish forces. It tends to hold itself aloof from the truly popular Fascismo. It has no great sympathy for the truly national idea. It would make Mussolini's government over into pure reaction; and it accepts his despotism only because it hopes it can eventually buy or seize control.

The Middle Class Stand

A THIRD resource in Mussolini's campaign was the great middle class of renters, professionals, merchants, public employees. These also saw in Fascismo salvation from the menace of the class struggle, in which their group came out very badly in Russia. But, law-abiding on the whole, the middle classes are not deeply in sympathy with the methods of Fascismo. Their contributions to the movement have been momentary and spasmodic, furnishing especially students and boys, who were too young for the Great War and seek in the "war against the enemy at home" glories to emulate those of their bemedalled big brothers.

But the most important of all resources was the Socialist Party itself—which by its mistakes, its cowardice, its stupidities, kept the ground fertilized for Fascista growth and ran to cover when the clarion call for the class war sounded. Nobody knew it (except Mussolini, who had once bossed the gang)—but the Italian Socialist coalition of Party and Federation was a political phantom, which talked the language of revolution, but was really a pensioner on governmental patronage. It was a bureaucracy of labor leaders wheedling a vast working class by promises it had not the courage to keep. The world expected Italian Socialism to do something after the war: so did its rank-and-file. The populace, indeed, seized the factories and part of the land. The Socialist bureaucracy kept on "propaganding": deriding under the name of militarism the blood sacrifice of the war; disrupting the country by petty strikes and sabotage; irritating and harassing the public by countless annoyances. Now since the average peasant and laborer knows little, and cares less, about political theories, and follows Socialism, or any other -ism, that promises to get him the things he wants, the Socialist Colossus collapsed. The convinced Socialists, in loyalty to the international proletarian idea, went over to Communism; the nominal Socialists, under the fascination of the national idea, which promises them what they want, went over to Fascismo.

Plutocratic Nationalism at one end, nationalistic Socialism at the other, Fascismo has swallowed the class struggle!

In its agrarian aspects the Fascista movement has had a history almost parallel, beginning a year later.

When, by its specific triumphs over industrial Socialism, Fascismo had come to look like a going concern, and by its idealization in the press it had become a middle class fad, conservative, rural, Clerical Italy began to see the possibilities in the movement. The collapse of Italian frenzied finance in 1921 also compelled Mussolini to seek a broader base of financial support.

Converts to Nationalism

LARGE proprietorship of land in Italy has, like Socialism, been generally hostile to the national idea and to the industrial, financial, protectionist State. It has been the great support of Clericalism—its chief issue the schools and the "Roman Question."

Reactionary Clericalism went over to Fascismo on much the same terms as reactionary Nationalism. And we

have the interesting spectacle of men who had been neutralist, pacifistic, pro-Austrian, defeatist, during the World War, participating in a crusade of glorification for the blood-sacrifice of the Italian soldier and for the national idea.

Now the Italian peasant is a fighter. In the South he made short work of the first "Fascisti," shooting them off the land, taking vengeance on the "patriotic" landlord.

In the North the situation was somewhat different: there the peasant was anarchistic or republican or socialistic, as well as Catholic.

The landlords entered Fascismo with the idea of destroying the organizations of farmhands. Mussolini, an old campaigner among agricultural workers, tried, instead, to capture those organizations and carry on the work of agrarian reform under Fascista leadership. Two-thirds of the proletarian organizations have, in fact, gone over to his standard.

Here again Fascismo has swallowed the class struggle, absorbing mutually hostile movements from Right and Left. To hold this vigorous popular movement within the fold, the Fascisti are even perpetrating violations of property-rights as extreme as those attempted by the Socialists, and far more efficient in their execution.

But the Clerical agrarian has entered Fascismo only through bowing to the national idea; just as the revolutionary agrarian has been won over to the national idea.

Hostile to the State

A FEELING of hostility to the State was native to the Italian army of conscripts—largely peasants and workingmen of the lower classes. It was intensified by the failure of Caporetto. It was exaggerated by the failure of Italian diplomacy at Versailles. D'Annunzio's raid on Fiume (a parallel to, rather than an offspring of Fascismo) was a first expression of this feeling, which remains as a trait permanent throughout the Fascista movement.

But this is not the point so much. Rather the trouble with the Italian government was the trouble with all democracies that were not created by the self-conscious will of a whole self-conscious people. No one has any particular loyalty to them.

Now the Socialist movement has done much, in forty years, to awaken a political consciousness in the industrial and rural Italian masses. The Catholic and Socialist agrarian movements have done much for the peasant, too. So has the government school; so particularly has the national army. The World War, reaching in its effects to every individual in the nation, brought all these forces together: giving a specific meaning to the word "Italy" as opposed to any special interest of class, region or faction. The call for a "new man" who could voice this new awakening has been a standing war-cry, one might even say, a standing joke of Italian political life for years. How escape from that political quagmire of which Giolittianism is only one type: government by the distribution of patronage—the smothering of oppositions by bribery?

Mussolini's Discipline

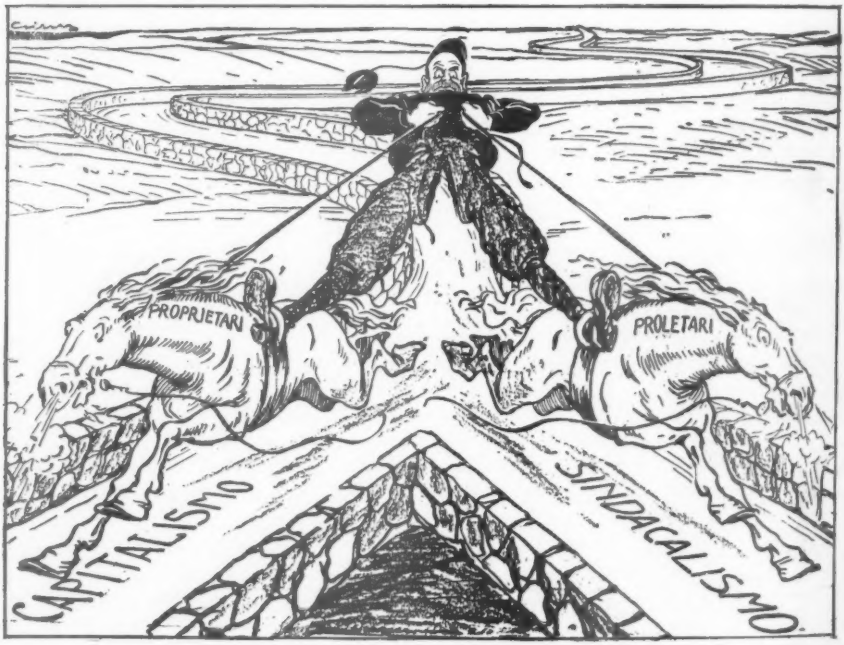
MUSSOLINI promised to furnish just such relief; and when, in great mass actions, he showed that he could discipline his movement at least as well as the government could discipline its own jurisdiction, the nation took him at his word.

In its assault upon the government, Fascismo became the nation. It became a general "get-together" movement of the whole country with few audible voices of dissent. The religious experience Italy has been going through

these last few months is one that cannot leave its people unchanged. Taking promises at their face value the principal results are three: the proletarian movement from international has turned national on a basis of class co-operation instead of class struggle; the clerical movement has been nationalized, and the moral forces the Church controls will be used for the integration of Italy and not for the disintegration of Italy; paternalism will, so far as is humanly possible, be banished.

It is, in a word, little short of a millennium that Mussolini promises to impose upon Italy, peacefully if possible, by force if necessary. Undoubtedly he will realize some of his program. But can he hold his forces? The trouble with minority rule is that anybody can use it. D'Annunzio, for instance, could start a Franciscan love-thy-neighbor movement that might knock Fascismo sky-high. Fascismo can be only one stage in the political education of the Italian people. It can rest content with having, for a brief moment at least, united a Latin country behind its government.

Concern abroad as to a dangerous foreign policy on the part of Fascismo seems to be quite unfounded. The "big talk" at Naples was mostly for Nationalist consumption. Far from seizing Fiume or invading Yugoslavia out of hand, Mussolini at once adhered to Giolitti's "Treaty of Rapallo" with Yugoslavia. The obeisance exacted from England and France at Lausanne was also a demagogic gesture. In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, there is, as yet, no foreign policy apart from domestic policy; and wars are made from surplus energies of peoples. No fears from Fascismo!



"Difficult exercise"

(Serenissimo)

The Struggle for the Mediterranean

Command by Sea Power of the Main Trade Route Between Asia, Africa and Europe and the Control of the Dardanelles, Long the Causes of European Conflict, Now Directly Interest America

By Allan Westcott

Mr. Westcott is a member of the faculty of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis

A FUNDAMENTAL principle, in all discussions relating to naval strategy, is the importance of water routes as avenues of world trade. In spite of the growth of rail communications, the seas are the broadest highways, and upon them will continue to travel the bulk of international commerce. Highways rather than barriers between continents in all ages, their importance has increased with the tremendous growth of foreign trade—four-fold as fast as the growth of population in the last hundred years.

Of all such highways, the most important in history has been the Mediterranean, which, though long broken by a land barrier at its eastern end, has always been a main artery of commerce between the Orient and the western world.

Such a highway is a natural battleground. It would probably not be an overstatement to say that two-thirds of the sea fighting in history has taken place in Mediterranean waters. The conflict between Greeks and Persians in ancient times was decided at Salamis. Three centuries later Rome and Carthage battled for supremacy on the inland sea in a long series of engagements around the coast of Sicily, that of Ecnomus, for example, involving estimated forces of 300,000 men. The struggle between eastern and western elements in Rome was fought out at Actium, a battle which in Lord Bacon's words "decided the empire of the world." Christian and Turkish galleys met in centuries of sea warfare culminating at Lepanto in 1571. The Nile and Trafalgar—the latter just outside Gibraltar—marked the rise of British sea power. All of these naval actions had decisive effects, as compared with land battles, far out of proportion to their size measured in materials and men.

Great Britain's present grip on the Mediterranean shows her recognition of its importance to her. Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, and Aden, with possession of Cyprus and oversight of Egypt, give control of the waterway from end to end. To each of these in varying degrees might be applied the recent statement of Lord Allenby about Egypt—"of primary importance to India, Australia, New Zealand, and all Great Britain's eastern possessions, affecting the safety of nearly 350,000,000 British subjects."

The value of these bases, it must be added, depends not merely upon their possession, but upon their fortification and protection by a naval force adequate to hold them and use them to advantage against a possible foe. Otherwise they become a liability, exposed to capture and use by the enemy. But thus held, they dominate the Mediterranean. Gibraltar and Malta, as well as Aden, are located at straits or defiles where all shipping must converge and pass within easy reach. Gibraltar not only stops the western end of the sea, but occupies a central

The Adriatic port of Spalato, now held by Yugo-Slavia

position dividing the two frontiers of France, as well as Spain. Malta guards another narrows, dividing the coasts of Italy, and, as in the World War, affording a convenient base for operations in the Adriatic.

It is often assumed that such domination has a value only in war. In peace, we are told, " the seas are free." This, however, involves a serious error. In peace, the possession of such control gives the assurance needed for expansion of a nation's commerce and investment of capital in foreign and colonial fields. It gives assurance that commerce and colonies will not suffer the fate, for example, of Germany's. Like the weight in a hammer, it energizes a nation's bargainings with other powers. What we gained at the Washington Conference, for instance, is usually attributed to anything but our military resources, whereas in reality our diplomacy would have availed little without the backing of our actual naval strength and our potential strength in economic wealth.

To return to the Mediterranean, it need only be said that England's domination can exert a powerful influence, in peace as well as war, upon such insular or peninsular states as Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain.

The possibilities of such influence, even though exercised with wise discretion, naturally led long ago to agitation for " freedom of the seas," and an " association of nations " capable of putting these vantage points under international guardianship. Such guardianship would obviously throw all present considerations of naval strategy into the discard. So too would revolutionary changes in naval warfare—aerial, gas, submarine, or other—which might nullify the value of naval strongholds and surface navies. In the meantime, Mr. Wilson's point about freedom of the seas has been lost in London. In European councils national ambitions and jealousies seem as alive as ever. So the old conditions must still be assumed.

For France, England's advantages in the Mediterranean have a special significance. Gibraltar, as already

said, divides her two seacoasts. It is as if another nation should possess our own Panama Canal. In war, the occupation of this central position by an enemy would evidently make defense doubly difficult, calling for adequate forces at each of the two extremes. In the Mediterranean, which France still regards as her chief field of naval activity, her main concern is for the safety of communications with her possessions in Africa, of a size equal to the continental United States and a population equal to the home land. France put a million colonials on the battle fronts in the World War, and feels that in the event of another conflict she must be sure of getting these troops across the Mediterranean.

In short, France, as she has so often insisted, is a colonial power second only to England, and has very definite maritime interests. She does not like the idea of practically surrendering her naval arm. With a big army and a heavy weight of debts, a capital ship program is at least for the present out of the question. Ministerial changes are so frequent that a consistent policy is extremely difficult, but there are many who advocate abandoning major units altogether, in favor of a strong force of light craft for coast defense and commerce warfare. Impressed by the German submarine campaign, she may even wish to discuss the possibility of bringing this weapon within the law. Hence her unwillingness to accept the sharp limitations on smaller types proposed at the Washington Conference.

The major partners in the 5-5-3-1.75 agreement view this attitude of

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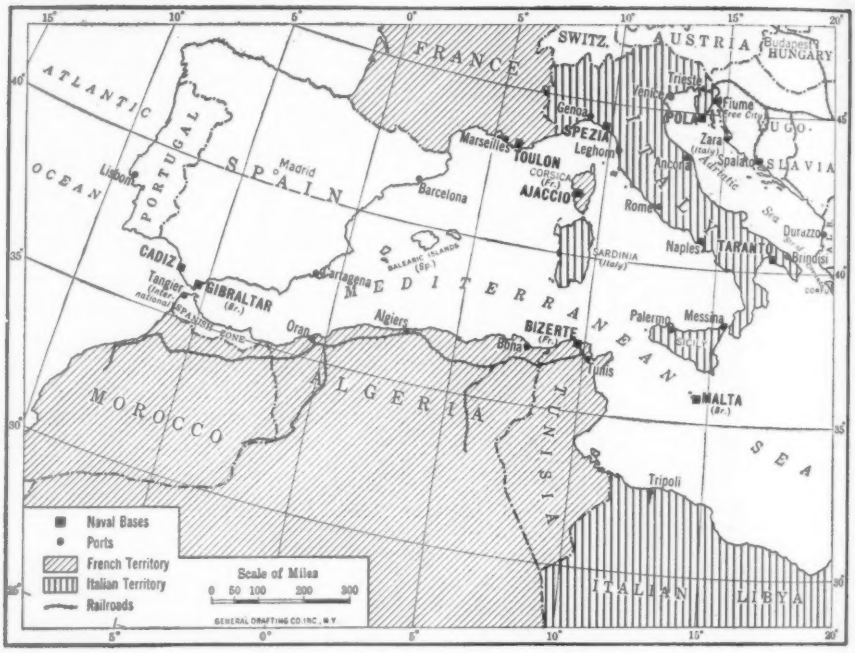
GIBRALTAR

The British fortress at the entrance to the Mediterranean



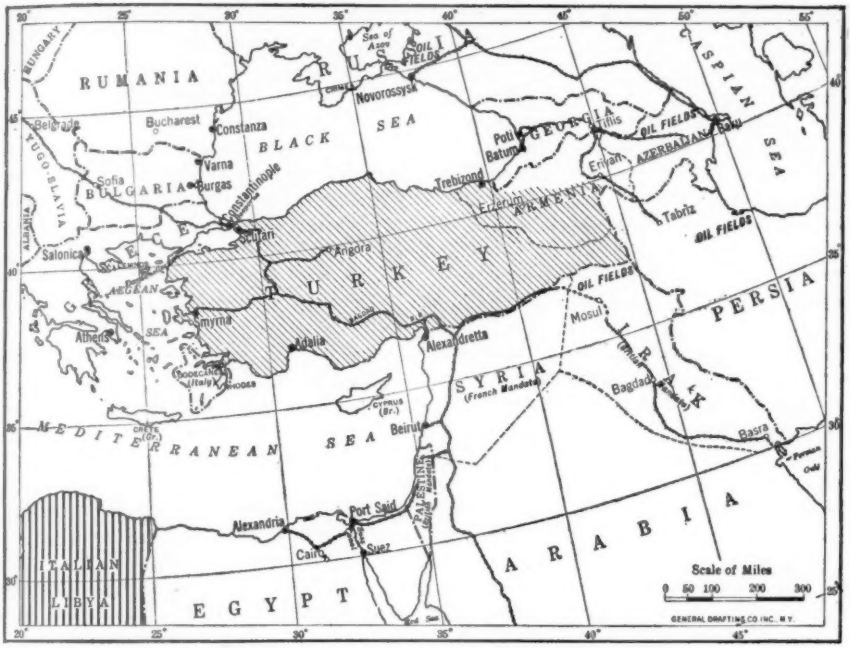
SEA POWER IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Great Britain at Gibraltar not only commands the Atlantic entrance, but holds a central position dividing the sea frontiers and African colonies of France as well as Spain, and at Malta controls another narrow passage and divides the sea frontiers and African colonies of Italy

France with pained surprise. Americans, in particular, showed perhaps too little sympathy with the French point of view. We might have remembered that in the nineteenth century our own small navy, not only in war but in time of peace, did good service in protecting the western continents.

Whether or not France and Italy ratify the Washington treaties, their feelings about Anglo-American naval predominance are well expressed in the words of an Italian naval writer in reviewing an American book on a naval theme. This book ventured the hopeful and rather complacent opinion that Anglo-American concord, coupled with naval supremacy, would best insure "the peace of the world." "Peace of the world," the reviewer echoed; "why not rather the enslavement of the world?"

In subsequent correspondence with the present writer he refused to be persuaded that the big fleets would not trouble the smaller powers, and would more probably engage in rivalry with each other. "Now," he said, "permit me to speak a word of plain Italian about Anglo-Saxon hegemony. You say, 'Is there any danger of it?' For the small Mediterranean peoples there is a menace in any world domination. We are much injured by the recent peace, and we detect a deadly peril in all hegemonies, especially the Anglo-Saxon ones. See what we have done, and the recompense we have received, thanks to your ex-president.



TRADE CONTROL IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Here is seen the strategic significance of the Dardanelles Straits and of the Turkish capital of Constantinople, controlling the water route to the Black Sea regions and the land route between Europe and Asia and determining access to the oil fields of the Caucasus and Asia Minor

All hegemonies are now suspect, and we are not wrong."

The passage gives a Latin view of the naval question, but at the same time it suggests ambitions for Italy which attract less sympathy. In the Adriatic, the naval menace to Italy was removed by the break-up of the Hapsburg Empire. The boundary settlement as finally threshed out gives her a protectorate over Zara and vantage points in the Dalmatian islands which enable her to make the Adriatic an Italian lake. There may be justice in this, for the Dalmatian coast, with its inner channels and deep, protected harbors, has all the military advantages, whereas the Italian coast is singularly exposed. But to attempt now to thwart the growth of a prosperous and united Slav state would be contrary to Italy's own best economic interests. And camping in another nation's front yard is at best a dangerous adventure, as the Greeks learned in Asia Minor.

Although Italian merchant shipping suffered heavily in the war, the acquisition of Austrian vessels has brought it up to pre-war size. With her interests on the African coast and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, Italy has abundant motives for a navy. She insists on a tonnage equal to that of France, and can justify this not only by her colonial possessions, but by her islands and long maritime frontier.

Thus far Great Britain's naval resources in the Mediterranean have

been considered chiefly as a limitation upon the Mediterranean nations. As a matter of fact, however, her policy in this region is primarily defensive. The safety of her trade and communications in this distant field is vital, and naval power is the only weapon at her command.

This must be remembered when we turn to Turkey and the Dardanelles. In the past, friendly relations with Turkey have always been a cardinal element in British foreign policy, the unfortunate results of departure from which were shown in the World War. To Great Britain, and in fact to the world at large, the importance of Turkey and the Straits appears in three main aspects: as a buffer state between Russia and the great trunk line of water traffic with the East; as an essential link in the alternative land route by the Bagdad Railway to the Persian Gulf, which in the hands of a strong European power might rival the route by Suez; as the gateway commanding access to the rich mineral and cereal regions of the Black Sea.

In former times Turkey was upheld in Europe and the Straits were closed to warships largely as a means of preventing Russian fleets from entering the Mediterranean. More recently, however, it appeared clear that the dangers from Russian occupation of the Straits would not be primarily naval, and that the naval menace could be met by holding a base, such as Mudros, outside the Straits. Nevertheless, England was taking a serious step when she consented to Russian occupation in the London agreement of March, 1915. This bargain of course came to naught, and the disposal of Constantinople became one of the problems of the peace settlement.

With the shelving of the Sévres Treaty, it looked for a time as if the prize might fall to England. Allied occupation of Constantinople, or Greek military occupation of the Gallipoli Peninsula, seemed equivalent to control by the major naval power.

It would be difficult, however, to convict Great Britain of such intentions. In any case, as this is written, the Lausanne Conference appears to promise some more satisfactory form of international control. This was to be expected, for, however useful the Turks may find the support of Russia in driving a bargain, they realize that their own safety and economic interest lie in cooperation with the capital and industry of the western nations.

Even though another solution may be in prospect, the objections to control by the Turks must still be kept clearly in mind. The Straits are not merely an approach to the Turkish capital or chief city, but a great international waterway. Fortification by Turkey could make the passage impregnable to naval attack, thus giving to an otherwise weak and backward nation a very dangerous power. In the World War we saw how she could be manipulated by a strong western European state. On the other hand, Russia, in alliance with or after victory over Turkey, could use the control of the Straits to insure herself absolute freedom of action in the regions beyond. The safety of the small Black Sea states, the marketing of Ukrainian products, the development of the oil regions, would all be jeopardized by such a solution.

It may seem reasonable that the Turks should be allowed adequate defenses for Constantinople. But if, as appears clear, this could be accomplished only by fortifying the Dardanelles, then it would be better to have the safety of the city depend on international guarantees.

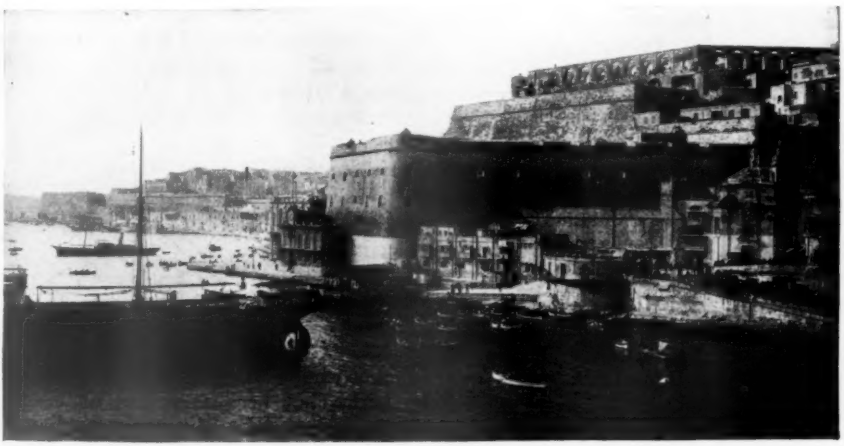
In the event of some form of international control, it would be greatly to the interest of the United States, as well as the world in general, that

this control should be genuinely international, and not disguised control by a single power or group of powers.

To see that American interests are involved, one has only to glance at the commercial activities now going on. In normal times just before the war, the total export shipping from the Black Sea was from twelve to fourteen million tons, from two to three millions of which were in British bottoms. With the exploitation of the mineral resources and the economic recovery of these regions, both export and import trade will increase rapidly. The value of American exports to Turkey alone increased from $3,300,000 in 1913 to $42,200,000 in 1920.

This latter increase was brought about in large measure through skillful cooperation with business interests on the part of the American High Commissioner in Turkey, Rear Admiral Bristol. "With his help," writes Admiral Koontz, "and the assistance of a small force of destroyers based on Constantinople, particularly in transportation and communication facilities, our commercial representatives are establishing themselves firmly in trade which means millions of dollars to the farmers of the American Middle West." By utilizing the wireless of destroyers in Turkish ports, at Durazzo, and elsewhere, commercial messages have been put through without delay. A short time ago there was much opposition to a bill in Congress to put commercial agents on men-of-war. Now destroyers are entering Turkish ports with "drummers" as regular passengers, and their fantails piled with American samples. An American destroyer has made a special trip at thirty knots to get American oil prospectors into a newly opened field.

If this continues, we shall cease to take a purely academic interest in the naval problems of the Mediterranean and the Near East. As already shown, these problems are concerned, in their larger aspects, with the protection of commerce, the control of narrow places in the Mediterranean waterways, and the naval forces which the interested nations can bring to bear. They cannot be discussed without constant reference to political and commercial aims.



The port at Malta, a British Mediterranean island base

Bissolati—Forerunner of the Revolt of Italy's Youth

The Spirit of the Fiery Reformer, War Patriot and Lover of Mankind Lives in the Movement Stirring Masses of the Young Men of His Nation Today

By Gino Speranza

Mr. Speranza is an American writer widely known for his interpretations of Italy and the Italian point of view

LEONIDA BISSOLATI

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A picture taken shortly before his death

D'ANNUNZIO, who, whatever his faults, is a keen observer and interpreter of current events, recently said: "There is in Italy today an explosive youthfulness and an encumbering decrepitude."

This is only a striking way of saying that Italy is, today, in a state of transition, during which the younger elements, vital and exuberant as they are, clash with the entrenched forces of an older Italy. This older Italy is represented on its conservative side by that "ruling class" which succeeded the generation of capable and patriotic men who were the makers of United Italy and on its radical side by representatives of insincere and exotic political and economic demagogies. The "ruling class," honest and good enough people but often selfish and lacking in vision, still control the state or, perhaps more exactly, its vast machinery—the bureaucracy; but it is a control resulting largely from the momentum of the past and, therefore, bound to weaken and decrease in power. The radical element of this older Italy, under better leadership and with more political training, might have become a great and helpful political party representing the aspirations of the Italian working masses. It had its day when practically all the young men of Italy flocked to its banners; but the indiscipline and selfishness of its constituents and the insistence of many of its leaders on foreign theories led to the loss of its prestige. The Italian Socialist Party is today split into various groups of conflicting tendencies.

These older elements obstruct the path upon which younger Italy is trying to find its way; if at times, in its efforts to clear the road, it resorts to extra-parliamentary, "explosive" and high-handed methods—as in the campaigns of the Fascisti—it is not because it has ceased to respect the old or is wholly without a sense of responsibility, but because it has no use for the insincerities of current parliamentary life in Italy, will honor only what is worthy and not merely ancient, and,

aware of its own strength, will not allow it to be exploited by politicians in whom it has no faith. Young Italy today demands two things: courage and honest convictions. That is why today the young men of Italy are devoting themselves to sports and outdoor life as they have never done before; it is the physical preparation for that finer courage which is today battling against the narrowness and entrenched senility of the old "ruling class" and beginning to explode the oratorical and insincere demagogies of unconvinced and unconvincing "radical" leaders.

It may well be that this sense of moral revolt is a natural consequence of the World War and that the new social and political "feeling" in Italy is part of a world-wide change in the outlook and aspirations of the new generation. But in the case of Italy there have been men—solitary figures indeed—who preceded this movement and incarnated the ideas now slowly asserting themselves among the youth of that country. And among these precursors none it seems to me embodied them more clearly or engagingly than Leonida Bissolati—a man who during the war was, for a time, perhaps the most hated man in his country, but whose monument was unveiled only a short time ago in Rome amid the respectful homage of Italians of all classes and of all political creeds. This was the man who at sixty had the vigor and enthusiasm of youth, because from his boyhood he had loved sport and followed it with passion, teaching it to the younger generation as a "duty of Romans." And because in his stirring political life he fought chicanery and parasitism in high places no less than the demagogues who fed false hopes to the struggling masses. A study of him affords the means to a better understanding of the real situation in Italy today, and especially to a more sympathetic appreciation of the moral and ideal

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Minister Bissolati on a visit to the front

forces now stirring so large a part of the youth of that country.

A War Glimpse of Bissolati

I CAN never think of that "virile, upright and most lovable Italian," as an Englishman once characterized Leonida Bissolati, without recalling the stirring occasion of my first meeting him. I had the good fortune during the War to be one of four newspaper men who succeeded in climbing some eleven thousand feet to see the fighting beyond Lobbia Alta on the Adamello Glacier, the highest point of military operations on the long Allied front. Crowded in a little, snow-bound shack the *Alpini* officers generously gave to the weary tenderfoot correspondents the very best from their glacial larder and made us quite comfortable around a couple of American oil stoves. The feasting over our arrival was at its height (the Colonel was handing out to every man in the party a cake of much-coveted milk chocolate!) when the shack door opened letting in a blizzard gust of icy night air and a very young lieutenant who saluted and stood at attention before the Colonel. The youthful officer explained that he was bringing up some rather raw reserves and that many of his men were fainting from the unusually severe exposure.

"Might they rest in the snow-caves that constituted the encampment till early morning?"

The Colonel, who knew that his troops holding the advanced snow trenches *had* to be relieved at any cost, gave a curt reply denying the request. The young lieutenant, a mere boy, blushed and gulped down his embarrassment at what must have seemed a cruel rebuff before "company"; saluted without a word and turned to go out. It was then that I noticed a spare, almost ascetic looking man (whose white hair seemed in contrast with the sergeant's stripes on his uniform) stand up as the lieutenant passed him, giving him a dignified and markedly respectful military salute.

That sixty-year-old sergeant was Leonida Bissolati and his salute was all that his humble rank permitted him to show of his great and sympathetic heart to his "superior"—the embarrassed and troubled young lieutenant.

A Social Enthusiast

BORN in Cremona in 1857, Bissolati studied first at the nearby University of Pavia and later at that of Bologna, where he completed his studies for the legal profession. But there was too much ardor in his soul for the life of a provincial barrister, and too many wrongs to be righted among the peasantry of his agricultural centre—wrongs beyond the relief of laws as they then existed. So he poured out his spirit in essays on most varied subjects—from asceticism to Carducci, from cooperation to Goethe—while actively participating in the then new movement for the economic betterment of the Italian peasant class. It was a time when socialism meant a very different thing in Italy from what it does today, when demagogic influences have worked upon its spirit; its leaders then were men of faith who appealed to the rising generation with the ideals of human brotherhood. That is why in 1892 we find Bissolati among a group of earnest men who organized the first real political party in modern Italy, the "Socialist Party of Italian Workers." It soon became evident that in order to increase the party's constituency it must have a political press of its own. Bissolati accordingly entered with much zest on this new venture and was editor of "L'Avanti," the new organ of Italian socialism, during some of its most stormy years.

By 1897 the new party was able to

elect sixteen members to the Italian Parliament, Bissolati among them. Then began a long period of political stress for the man who adhered unswervingly to truth as he saw it, or rather, as he felt it, not as a party man, not even as a socialist, but as a humanist and a lover of his people.

During the Milan riots of 1898 Bissolati was arrested and held as a political prisoner for some months. But this experience seems only to have strengthened his faith. The following year, when an admittedly reactionary Cabinet attempted to override the rights of Parliament, Bissolati emerged as a leading figure in the House in a memorable campaign of obstructionism in which the Ministry was eventually defeated. It was, perhaps, this parliamentary struggle that convinced Bissolati, as it convinced others of his faith, that many of the objects of socialism and the economic betterment of the masses could be achieved by lawful and constitutional means, by progressive legislation and without resort to violence. But such views involved collaboration with a middle class government and were in opposition to the rigid tenets of Marxism and the dogmas of the doctrinaire majority then in control of the Italian Socialist Party. Bissolati had become a thorn in the side of the "Regulars" but he was too popular with the masses to be thrown out of the organization without some "justification." And Bissolati himself furnished the "excuse" that was wanted. An attempt had been made on the life of King Humbert and Bis-

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"Young Italy today demands courage and honest convictions"

solati did the "unpardonable" thing of going to the Quirinal with other members of Parliament to felicitate that kindly monarch on his escape from a brutal murderer! On this ground Bissolati was read out of the Party, whereupon he and a number of his followers organized a new group.

Battled for Human Rights

FROM now on, though affiliated with the Reform Socialists, he stands out preeminently in the fulness of his character, as a sort of free lance, as a knight battling for human rights. The World War appealed to him as a struggle for international justice and international solidarity, so that when Italy decided to intervene he accepted the struggle (though contrary to Socialist dogma) as "an effort to extend to international relations the principles of liberty and cooperation." Though by this time he was nearing his sixtieth year, the love of sports in his youth and of mountain climbing throughout his life, made him equal to the task of serving as a private in the celebrated Italian Alpine Corps. In July 1916, during the heroic storming of Monte Nero, he was badly wounded. Promptly after his recovery he again volunteered for active service with the *Alpini* and was assigned to the staff of the Command of the forces conducting operations on the Adamello Glacier, where I met him. It was shortly after that time that he was summoned to Rome and offered a ministerial portfolio. Again breaking a dogma of Socialism (non-collaboration with a capitalistic government) he accepted and served in both the Boselli and the Orlando Cabinets as Secretary of State for Military Relief and Pensions.

Here again his striking individuality and his restlessness with the uncertainties and insincerities of political life even in high places brought him into contrast with his ministerial colleagues. Even as a Cabinet Minister he could not let his love for all men be constrained and limited by his love for his fellow citizens; he loved even those who were his Country's enemies and whom, as a soldier, he had fought on the battlefields. For these were some of the "inconsistencies" of which his enemies could make so much capital—that despite his socialism he loved his country with an abounding love, and despite his love of country he loved even the men who were trying to invade its territories! He evolved a policy to the effect that while it was the highest duty of every Italian for today to do everything to destroy the Hapsburg Empire, it was an almost equal duty of every Italian to try after the war to establish friendly relations with Italy's neighbors.

In the excitement of war time it was not difficult to spread the idea that Bissolati's views came close to treason.

On one occasion in Parliament, some of his former Socialist colleagues tried to heckle Bissolati as he sat at the ministerial bench in the Chamber of Deputies; they taunted him for having been a soldier and shooting down his fellowmen at the front. Rising tall and straight in his place, and facing them, he said calmly: "If it meant saving the fighting army from being stabbed in the back, I, myself, would shoot down even you."

Championed Peace Program

WHEN Europe, weary with suffering, received President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a sort of inspired gospel, it was natural that a man like Bissolati should become one of the most fervent champions of the Wilson program of peace among men. But the Italian statesman stood for the Fourteen Points in their entirety and especially for the spirit which gave to that program a super-political character. Indeed, he conceived that Italy's

mission, as the Mother of Civilization, was to stand for and be the champion of the Fourteen Points in their integrity and spiritual content, against all compromises and restrictions, even against President Wilson's surrender of any one of them. According to such a conception, Italy should, if necessary, surrender some of her claims, however legitimate, to territory or material advantages.

Bissolati Quits Public Life

THIS, of course, was more "treason"! False and contemptible stories were spread around, and Bissolati's "treasonable renunciations" were fed out to an excited nation emerging from a long and bloody struggle and enjoying the exhilaration of a great victory. Bissolati's Ministerial colleagues, or some of them, felt it necessary to "distinguish" their position from his; and he, on his part, met the situation by resigning from the Cabinet.

In the midst of all this stress came President Wilson's pronouncement on Fiume which filled all Italy with indignation and resentment. It was claimed then, and it has been alleged since, that President Wilson's statement reflected Bissolati's views regarding Fiume and the Adriatic, and that, to such extent at least, it mirrored the opinions of high-minded "non-imperialistic" Italians. I owe it to the memory of this great and good man to deny this, being able to do so because of having personally secured his views upon this subject for our government.

But by this time the popular tide was almost irresistibly against him.

However, he would not withdraw from his people without a valedictory which would set forth his creed clearly and bear testimony of his love for Italy. The occasion came in the great gathering at the La Scala Theatre in Milan on January 11, 1919. The huge building was packed with people of all classes, friends and enemies, mostly the latter, gathered to pass judgment on the man who, morally, towered above them all. Perhaps Bissolati felt that his address on this occasion would be his political testament to his beloved country—the last great battle that he would be called upon to fight almost single-handed. The rabble in low and high places tried to shout him down; but Bissolati patiently and stoutly stood his ground, declaring to the throng:

"I close my life with this act of duty and of faith. I have nothing further to ask of life—of that life which it was my great fortune to have been able to spend in battling for the suffering masses, in the defense of my Country, and, today, in the struggle towards the vision of a world of peace and justice among all men. Or, rather, I ask only this more of life—that I may live to see my Country fulfill in ever greater measure her great mission of blazing and lighting up new highways for humanity!"

The Heritage of His Spirit

THE months that were left to him of life (he died in May of the following year) were lived in absolute political retirement. I remember going to see him in his humble quarters in a large tenement on a second rate street in Rome, where he lived among his books and the mementoes of a useful and stirring life—an austere spirit, yet full of gentleness and even fun. And when the final hour struck, all Italy—those who had been his bitterest enemies no less than those who had remained his faithful followers—knew that the nation had lost one of its noblest sons and humanity one of its most unselfish friends.

In the Italy of today the soul of Bissolati goes marching on in the ardent movement of the nation's youth.

The Mood of the Fascisti

An Air of Restraint and Good Humor Masked the Serious Character of Events When the Black-Shirted Adherents of Mussolini Took Power in Their "Bloodless Revolution"

By Arthur Sturges Hildebrand

Some Personal Observations

WHAT happens in the lives of ordinary civilians when there are riots and upheavals in a city? One reads of the Fascisti "gaining control" in Italy and "sweeping over the land like fire over dry grass," and fails to imagine the shopkeepers and business men and mechanics going about their daily affairs during such stirring days. So, as I was in various cities of Italy while this was actually happening, I watched especially to see the mood in which it was done, and how it affected the daily lives of people who had no part in it.

The Fascisti and the military worked together in Genoa. Armoured cars were in the streets, and truckloads of blackshirt patrols and troops of cavalry drawn up, mounted and ready, in the square before the church. Suddenly a shot was fired from some housetop. A group of soldiers ran out to surround the block, looking up to see where the firing came from, holding their rifles ready. A man leaned out of a fifth story window in the suspected house and looked anxiously down, exactly as if he had heard the fire-engines coming. A dozen rifles covered him, and a dozen voices shouted at him to "get his head in." He vanished as if he had been snapped back by a spring. The officer sent his men down the narrow side street, and after a few seconds we heard a little spout of shots—not a scattered volley, but bunched nearly together, as if the firers had suddenly seen something—and a great cloud of doves came whirring down from the church towers and went circling over the crowd. The lieutenant in charge took off his cap and scrubbed his brow. He turned to me, smiling, and said,

"Hi! We scared the pigeons, anyway!"

Time and again it happened that I stopped at a corner and looked down a side street to see what it was that was causing the air of excitement; always soldiers appeared, jumping out of doorways, gesticulating with their rifles, and shouting at me to "Get back! Keep away! Keep moving!" And when I ducked out of range I saw grins on the faces of the bystanders, exactly as if we were playing "Prisoner's Base" and I had nearly been caught.

Once we were searched for arms. We were standing against a parapet where one street crosses another on a high bridge. We heard no step behind us, but all at once we were spoken to in a tone that brought us instinctively to "attention," and turned to look into the muzzle of a revolver. The officer patted all our pockets in turn, felt under our arms, raised our hats to look beneath them, "Go down into the street; don't do anything," he said.

In a pile of scaffolding in front of a new building, I caught sight of three long daggers, lying in the curve between two logs. I stopped in surprise and looked at them. Here was somebody's little *cache* of weapons. Something was going to happen here. A

black-shirt came up beside me and said quietly,

"Let them alone; go away."

Indeed, the question of the casual curious bystander was admirably handled; everyone was a suspicious character, a potential traitor. And yet he was given a quiet unhurried opportunity to assert his inocence. The restraint of it—the pleasantness, even—was the more remarkable because it was from just such incidents that serious consequences arose.

A black-shirt was returning home, very early in the morning, from sentry duty. He had been relieved; he was bound for bed. Someone stepped out to the edge of the roof of the church and shot him through the heart. His funeral was a very grave and honor-bestowing ceremonial, and for two days he lay in state in the big opera house with flowers about him.

There were times when the Fascisti were not allowed to carry arms, and other times when it was permitted them. I happened to be in a restaurant at the moment when such an order came. A dozen Fascisti entered and sat down to lunch; they seemed to have an agreement with the proprietor that he should feed them, as if they were quartered troops. A girl came in—she wore a black shirt, too, and she received a remarkable degree of respect, of mystical adoration, even. She bent over and spoke to the leader in a low tone; when she had gone he gave a quiet order to the man beside him, who set down his knife and fork and left the room. In ten minutes he was back again with a big cardboard box under his arm; he set this down on the end of the table, and passed out revolvers to everyone. Then they went on with their lunch.

I used to see them, in the evening out for picket duty—groups of fifty or a hundred, marching very seriously, with their officers in charge, their feet pounding the pavement all together. The older business men in the cafes — staid old lads, well-dressed, prosperous — applauded them, and shouted "Bravo! Bravo!" as they passed. When they met another group, going in the opposite direction, they saluted—an arm raised high, almost

Time out to eat

A TRIBUTE TO A MURDERED SENTRY

The funeral honors accorded by the Genoa Fascisti to their comrade were "a grave and honor-bestowing ceremonial"

straight over the head, with the fingers close together and the palm down—a stirring thing to see, like the salute of the old Roman Legions.

One morning I met a man whom I knew—the manager of an important cafe.

"You weren't up-town early this morning?" he asked me. "It was so amusing," he went on. "I came at half-past six to open my cafe; I was carrying my keys in my hand. From the bridge above there bombs had been dropped; I think someone was killed. And the Fascisti stopped me; there was a cordon across the end of the street, and they would not let me come in. 'But, gentlemen,' I said, 'this is my place of business. I must open my cafe. Don't you want any coffee?' They laughed, and told me 'Not now.' I could do nothing. So I sat down here on the curb, holding my little bunch of keys in my hand. I felt so foolish. They had guns across here in front of the cafe. But nothing happened, and at half-past nine they let me come in and open my front door."

Very often, at night, I was stopped by cordons across the street through which I wanted to pass.

"I want to go down here to number nine," I would say. "I'll be back in five minutes."

"Well, go ahead; but hurry." And when I returned they always looked at me carefully, to make sure that I was the same man who had gone in.

One night when I was on a sailing vessel in the harbor, a man who was passing in a row boat stopped to exchange greetings with a sailor on board who was a friend of his. The following conversation took place between them, in broken Italian, for the sailor was a Spaniard, and the boatman—obviously—was from Naples.

He was singing *O sole mio* as he rowed, and he interrupted it to say "Good evening."

"Plenty trouble on shore tonight,"

he said.

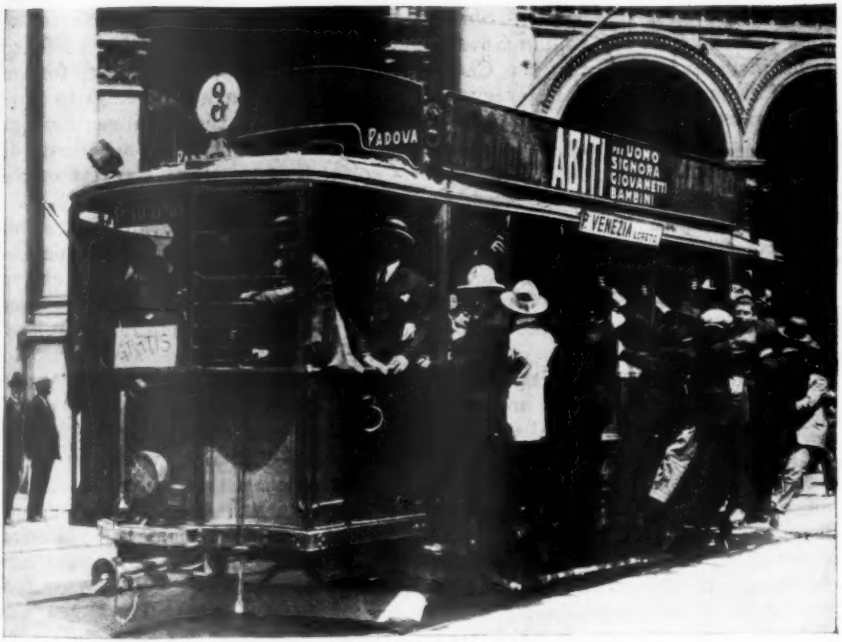
"Yes?"

"Yes. They fire guns. Two, three people killed; I don't know. Plenty trouble."

Just then the rattle of machine guns echoed down between the buildings.

"There! You hear? Very bad."

He bent and picked up his oars again. "Well, good night," he said. "*Ma n'atu sole, cchiu bel'ohi ne . . .*" His voice grew faint in the distance. "*O sole mio, sta nfronte a te . . . O sole . . . O sole mio . . .*"



BLACK SHIRT CONDUCTORS WERE POPULAR

It was "all aboard and no fare to pay" when the Fascisti operated the trolleys during the Milan street railway strike

Mussolini Through American Eyes

A Witness of the Spectacular Scene in the Piazza San Ferdinando, at Naples, When Thousands Acclaimed the Leader with the Fascisti Rallying Cry, Describes the New Italian Premier and His Policies

By Rheta Childe Dorr

WHEN a half mythical man named Benito Mussolini marched into Rome with an independent army of Black Shirts, took possession of the Italian Government including the King, the Chamber of Deputies, practically every political party and all the machinery of the State, in the closing days of October, curiously little was known of what had really happened. Accounts and comment in the most informed European journals reveal that in no country had statesmen or journalists understood the Fascisti movement, appreciated its vast extent or comprehended its program.

Even Italians were surprisingly confused about the Fascisti and their fighting with the Socialists. In Naples, when we arrived and began asking questions, we got in reply more violent gesticulation than coherent speech. The Fascisti were something very pestiferous, a lot of turbulent ex-soldiers who couldn't get out of the habit of fighting.

"They are against the Bolshevists, aren't they?"

"Yes, and so far so good, but they are against the government, too." At this point all explanation failed.

We finally gathered that the Fascisti were a trouble-making combination of Italian varieties of Vigilantes, Sinn Fein, Ku-Klux and I. W. W. They existed mainly in the industrial cities of northern Italy and were not important, merely annoying. This was the generally expressed opinion in southern Italy almost up to the end of October. Therefore, when it was announced that a national Fascisti convention was booked for Naples on October 24, it caused a profound shock. Women, especially foreign women, were warned to keep to their houses, and if they did venture out not to stray far from the security of Cook's, the American Express or the Consulate.

Accordingly, American like, we all went down town the next morning to look upon the terrible Fascisti and to witness any deeds of carnage. Once in a while we encountered a briskly marching, uniformed and equipped squad of soldiers, but the streets were deserted by the ordinary Naples crowd of pedestrians, street venders, priests, monks and beggars. With hardly an exception all places of business, even restaurants, were closed and iron shuttered, and most of them were plastered across with conspicuous posters bidding welcome to the Fascisti conference. Safety first! The town was gay with Italian flags, however, and blank walls blossomed with a roughly printed proclamation bearing the portrait of a man, tall, heavily built, smooth shaven, strong featured, buttoned up to his chin in a black woolen shirt. This was Benito Mussolini, father of the movement and leader of all the Fascisti.

We knew that Mussolini was to attend the convention and would make a speech, and we walked nearly three miles to reach the Piazza San Fer-

dinando, where Naples stages all its demonstrations,—an enormous open place of irregular outline having on one side the many pillared cathedral from which Caruso was buried and on another the acres and acres of buildings and gardens which formed the old palace of the succession of Neapolitan kings.

The dazzling sunshine streamed down upon one of the strangest sights that the Piazza San Ferdinando in all its long and gaudy career has ever witnessed. We watched it in silence for about ten minutes and then agreed that this was not a political convention but a movie. There in the Piazza and in all the side streets swarmed a very large proportion of the inhabitants of Naples and adjoining towns, and there had assembled from all over Italy nearly 40,000 men in uniforms made up of putteed breeches, black flannel shirts, fez-like caps, and many brilliant service ribbons. Scattered among them were squads of the fighting Fascisti, uniformed and helmetted and not in any way to be distinguished from regular troops on active duty at the front. It was a dramatic and unforgettable picture.

The fighting Fascisti carry rifles and bayonets, but the rank and file follow the Rooseveltian formula. They

MUSSOLINI BEFORE AND—

AFTER TAKING ROME

© International

BENITO MUSSOLINI
Premier of Italy

walk softly and carry a big stick. Nothing like the Fascisti big stick has appeared outside of Italy. The stick is simply a policeman's bludgeon carried to a logical conclusion. That is, it is about a meter in length, is very nicely balanced to the hand and carries at its business end a generous allowance of lead. As a snappy ornament it falls short of the English swagger stick, but as an instrument of deadly execution the Fascisti big stick beats almost anything except a machine gun. One well directed blow could crack a skull, break an arm, or otherwise turn a well equipped gunman into a casualty.

The scene in the Piazza San Ferdinando on October 24 would, as has been said, have done credit to Hollywood, California. People filled the streets, crowded every window and balcony, and clustered like locusts on the roof of the cathedral and every nearby building. The roars that acclaimed Mussolini at quick intervals had a rhythm of their own. Instead of the usual hurrah or bravo, they exploded like a battle shout: "*Eia! Eia! Alala!*" The rallying cry of the Fascisti, and accompanying it their gorgeous salute, handed down from the days of Imperial Rome. It is difficult to describe, —that swift, graceful, upward sweep of the right arm, hand extended, palm down, stopping at the level of the forehead. With exactly that salute was Julius Caesar hailed, and was the last of the great Roman emperors proclaimed when he entered Rome in triumph, as Mussolini did on October 30, through the ancient Flamarian Gate, now the Porta del Popolo. With Imperial Rome and its legions the salute vanished until Mussolini revived and adopted it for his Fascisti. He says it has come back to Italy to stay, and that is actually what the whole Fascisti movement is and what it means.

Fascismo, the most national of all the nationalist movements born of the

World War, promises to realize the dream of national unity which Mazzini and Garibaldi began. So far from national unity was Italy before the war that it was only in two or three years in advance of it that the famous Gentiloni Pact was sanctioned by the Vatican, and the "Blacks," or faithful Catholics, became Italians in a political sense.

In Italy the same kind of break occurred in Socialist ranks over the war issue as that which followed the American Socialist convention at St. Louis.

Benito Mussolini, the son of a respectable blacksmith in northern Italy, himself well educated and the editor of a Socialist newspaper, *Avanti*, was among those Socialists who like Russell, Spargo and Walling in the United States broke with their party in behalf of their country. He went into the war with great enthusiasm, was wounded and decorated and more than once mentioned in dispatches. With him into the war went so many other Socialists that after the Armistice there was in Italy, waiting for a leader and a program, a whole population of partyless voters. In Mussolini they found a leader and in the outburst of class hatred and Communist activities which shook the country in 1919 they found a common meeting ground. Whatever as individuals they might want they were unanimous in that they refused to see Italy turned into another Russia.

But there was more ferment than Communism in Italy after the Armistice. From the day in Paris when President Wilson pronounced his Fiume decision, all Italy was disturbed. A succession of weak governments yielded to the demands of one and another faction.

Every large group in the Chamber of Deputies having at least one radical element in it, no government dared very vigorously to oppose anything in the catalogue of "labor demands." One big demand is political jobs. only he, too, is called a commander. Italy has had a plague of officialism equal to anything autocratic Russia ever produced. In Italy the army of functionaries who have annexed soft jobs since the War are not required to look grand. They don't have to waste money on uniforms. They merely have to buy two hats instead of one as the seasons change. One of the hats is to wear. The other is to

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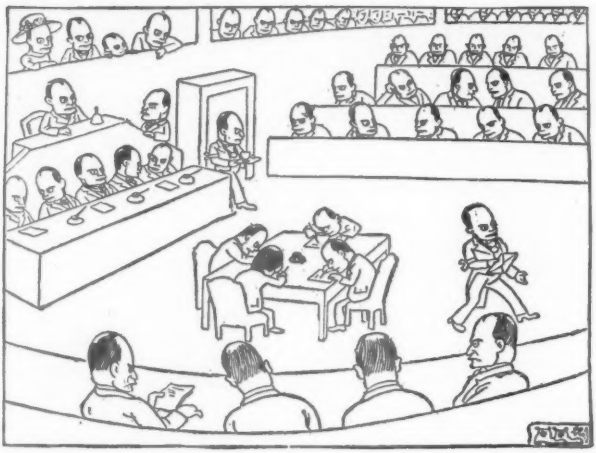
BENITO MUSSOLINI
As an unknown soldier in the World War



A surprise in store when the new Congress opens, predicts Il Travaso Delle Idee

hang on the proper hook outside the office where the functionary is supposed to work. It is an earnest of his being around the building somewhere in case anybody should happen to notice that his desk looked lonely.

Another familiar labor demand is acceptance of the principle that wages rise but never, in any circumstances, fall. This principle being easier to enforce under public than private ownership, let every industry be nationalized. And don't make any suggestion that a return to pre-war wages is a possibility. Nobody has dared reduce wages perceptibly. Salaries are another thing. So in Italy behold the driver of a street car defying any government to reduce his wage from forty lire a day. Also behold the ranking professor at the University of Naples existing, heaven knows how, on his pre-war salary of 700 lire a month, about twenty-three lire a day.

It is part of the Fascisti program to make sweeping changes in this state of affairs. Mussolini announces that he will discharge every useless functionary and idle employe, and will take immediate steps to bring about a better distribution of wages. One of the first things the new Premier did was to make an early call on every government office in Rome. These offices open at eight A. M., and promptly at eight A. M. the day after he took over the Government, Mussolini rang up each one and ordered a roll call of all employes. If his street hat as well as his office hat wasn't present the delinquent was to receive warning. The second offense would mean discharge. Concerning inflated wages Mussolini has served notice that they will have to come down. Concerning state owned industries and utilities he says they will speedily be restored to private ownership. Even the railroads, for many years government owned, are to be privately owned and operated. Mussolini always adds to his announcements: "By force if necessary."

Yet Mussolini's force is not always that of fire and sword. For instance when he marched into Rome to see the King and to form a government there were many predictions that he would be assassinated before he reached the Quirinal. Everybody expected the Communists to make the demonstration of their lives. Neither of these things happened. The Fascisti merely arranged matters so that all the Communist leaders had engagements at home on that day. A peaceful entrance of the Fascisti army into the capital was assured. One wonders what alternative to war Mussolini will offer the Jugo-Slav Government, the

Little Entente and the League of Nations when they try to argue him out of his fixed idea that Fiume must be returned to Italy, "by force, if necessary." Mussolini says he hates war and will never make it on anybody as long as they agree with his policies. He is hearty in his "God save the King," as long as the King is Fascisti. He is ready and willing to keep the Chamber of Deputies as long as they vote his way. The Pope is welcome to the Vatican as long as the Church makes no war on him.

So far Mussolini has won the hearts or the obedience of almost all the political leaders except the Communists, and they appear to have faded across the frontiers. The new Government is coalition and it does not even contain the six Fascisti members originally demanded. But the Minister of War is the great General Diaz, and the Minister of the Navy is Italy's most popular admiral, di Revel, and these appointments have won over the Nationalists and all the conservatives. All the liberal parties are represented in the cabinet, and this pleases their groups.

Lastly, Mussolini and D'Annunzio have exchanged glowing telegrams, and that unites all Italy. The two men have long been friends, in spite of the fact that D'Annunzio wanted to begin by abolishing the weak and inefficient Chamber of Deputies while Mussolini preferred to take it over without a revolution. On this point a large section of D'Annunzio's following went over to Mussolini, but the poet appears to have borne his successful rival no grudge on that account.

Mussolini actually has a richer political imagination than D'Annunzio. He knew exactly how to get hold of the Latin mind. He did it by telling Italy that if she had a miserable present she had two great pasts, Imperial Rome and the Venetian Republic. Mussolini has taken out and dusted both those great pasts. The fighting Fascisti wear helmets patterned after those of Imperial Rome, while the black shirt and fez are strongly reminiscent of the costume of Venetians of the bravest days of old. The whole party is organized and disciplined as were Caesar's Legions. The smallest unit, the Squad, contains from thirty to sixty men under a Squad Commander. After that comes the Century with a Centurion at their head, only he, too, is called a commander. The next largest group form Cohorts, anywhere from 4,000 to 10,000 men. An army corps is called a Legion. The fighting men of the organization

Bargains in black cloth for the family
(Serenissimo, Italy)

are known as Principes, and the reserves are Triarii, or men of the third line. The Roman army salute is used by all Fascisti, and the rallying cry, "Eia! Eia! Alala!" is a combination of Venetian and Roman words.

In less than two weeks after Mussolini assumed power all Italy seemed to have turned Fascisti. The children in schoolyards and parks abandoned every play except drilling with miniature big sticks. The butcher's boy who came to your door greeted you with the salute. Men meeting in the street raised their right arms forehead high instead of lifting their hats in the old Italian fashion. Everywhere you heard sung or whistled the Canto dei Fascisti with its lilting chorus:

> "*Giovanezza, giovanezza,*
> *Primavera di bellezza,*
> *Nel fascismo e la salvezza*
> *Del nostra liberta.*"

Freely rendered it means: Youth, youth, springtime of beauty, in Fascismo is the redemption of our liberty.

There is new hope in the air, new confidence. A man is at the helm. Mussolini is a dictator—he says so himself—but perhaps that is what Italy needed and wanted. Even women rejoice in Mussolini although he is no feminist. But he admits women to his party if they have anything to contribute to the success of its program. Women wear the black shirt and fez. They even march in Fascisti procession, and that in a Latin country, is a tremendous departure.

Mussolini has plenty of critics who tell you privately that the man is a demagogue and cannot possibly last. They say that his ambitions are purely personal and that he actually believes himself to be a reincarnation of Napoleon Bonaparte. His program of denationalizing utilities and industries is declared to be a traitorous scheme to sell out Italy to foreign investors. You are solemnly assured that a group of American financiers is secretly negotiating with Mussolini to buy up all Italian railroads.

Mussolini's Napoleonic Methods

MUSSOLINI may or may not assume the airs of Napoleon but he certainly acts with Napoleonic directness. In a series of speeches which closed in the Naples speech of October 24, Mussolini notified Premier Facta that his government must immediately include at least six Fascist ministers. In his last speech Facta's refusal to consider the proposition was declared a signal that the Fascisti must march on Rome. Facta, as a last gesture, proclaimed a state of siege, or martial law, for all Italy, afterwards going to the King and asking his sanction of the act. Mussolini's friends say that the King refused point-blank and announced that he too was Fascisti. Mussolini's critics say that Facta told the King that Mussolini had won a temporary victory and that the only way to save the crown and the dynasty was to summon him and let him form a government which the people would turn out at the next elections. Whatever happened the result was the same. Mussolini and the black shirts rule Italy. Mussolini went through the motions of demobilizing his army, but most of them have gone home on leave and a word could call them back.

An ardent Italian adherent expressed their feeling thus: "Mussolini is a Bonaparte, but how much greater a man. Bonaparte said of himself: 'I found the crown of France in the dust. I picked it up with my sword.' Mussolini can say: 'I found the grandeur that was Rome in a Bolshevist ash-heap. I picked it up with my hands and gave it back, clean and shining, to the people of Italy.'"

Europe's Revival and Farm Prices

The Factors, Political, Economic and Social, Which Affect the Price of the American Farmer's Crops, Are a Real and Pertinent Problem in the World Wide Competition Precipitated by the War

By Arthur Capper

United States Senator from Kansas

ANY plan looking toward the solution of the European economic tangle would probably benefit the farmer sooner than any other American producer. His markets are demoralized most by the situation now.

An international economic conference, properly limited and safeguarded, should be called. There can be no permanent solution of our own production and marketing problems until something approaching normal trade relationships with foreign nations is restored. Our "trade circle" is at present dead-locked.

America took a prominent part in creating the present economic situation abroad, and she cannot shift to others her obligation to see it through to a satisfactory settlement. Genoa and the Hague are proofs that Europe cannot settle these questions without outside assistance. The United States, alone, is in position to assist on agree-

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ARTHUR CAPPER

Leader of the "Farm Bloc" in the Senate

Courtesy of the U. S. Department of Agriculture

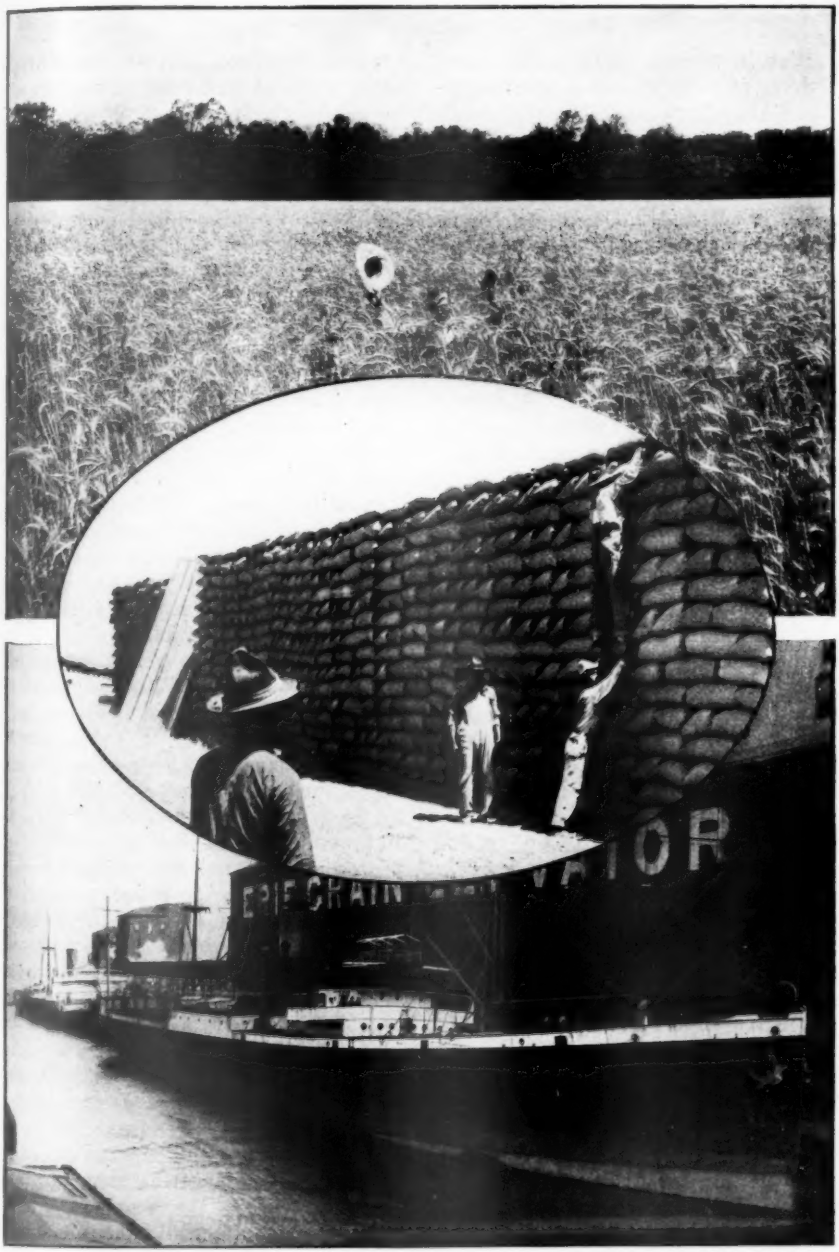
News of the world now comes to the farm by radio

ment among European nations to a program of stringent internal economies, taxation and increased production—their only hope for eventual solvency. When such guarantees are given, then it will be time enough to talk about easing up on the repayment of their debts to us. I am against debt cancellation.

The Arms Limitation Conference of last year shows that the nations can get together here at Washington and actually agree on major economic questions. That is what we need now —the farmers most of all.

The late war precipitated world-wide competition for the American Farmer. Previous to the war a sort of world equilibrium existed. Western Europe, which takes about 90 per cent of all the surplus agricultural products of the world, looked to Argentina for a certain quantity, to Canada for about so much, to India, China and Africa for fairly definite portions, and counted upon the United States for a rather constant volume from year to year, although the total amount we furnished was gradually decreasing.

Today no such equilibrium exists. We exported in 1921 twice as much wheat as we did in 1913, yet this was only two-thirds as much as we sent out the previous year. Canada increased her production over the prewar average one-third in 1920 and one-half in 1921. While it is true that neither Argentina nor Australia have increased production very largely, due mainly to the lack of shipping during the latter part of the war, yet these countries have great potentialities. We hear of new wheat developments in Manchuria and India, new cotton areas in Africa and China, and competitors in meat, wool and vegetable oil pro-



© Ewing Galloway

WHEAT

Growing in New Jersey; piled by the thousands of bags at a ranch switch in California; being loaded at an Erie Elevator.

duction in various parts of the world.

Some of these are the result of war-time stimulation, some the natural culmination of long experimental periods, and some the followers of new steamship lines and cheap water freight rates. Some of these products come from countries enjoying new-found prosperity, some from countries so poor that they must sell at any price whatsoever the products which they formerly themselves consumed.

But regardless of where these products originate they all seek a market in Western Europe and so come into competition with the American farmer just as certainly as if they were landed at New York for sale in American markets. And this at a time when normal European consumption is cut 20 to 35 per cent.

Is it any wonder, then, that with all this uncertainty, all this derangement of the ordinary channels of trade, the American farmer should take a new and a keen interest in foreign affairs?

The sensitiveness of our domestic market to European conditions is illustrated almost daily in Chicago grain and meat quotations. On practically any day 50 to 60 million bushels of wheat are afloat on the ocean bound mostly for north European ports. Let local conditions cause either a demand or a lack of demand at any port on either side of the Atlantic and the price at that point will either rise or decline by a few cents. The minute prices get out of line by so little as a few cents there will be wireless communications between shore and ships and almost immediate diversion of floating cargoes, toward that port if the price is high; away from it if the price is low.

Let us examine for a moment some of the inter-relationships or points of contact with foreign countries, which vitally affect the American farmer.

First, there is immigration.

Shall we keep the doors closed against the teeming millions that want to get away from Europe's turmoil and trouble and seek homes in a new land? If we do keep them out will they go to South America and other agricultural lands and soon swell the flood of farm products from those nations in competition with our own in European markets?

When we recall that a large share of our own agricultural population is only one or two generations removed from European immigration we may well consider the probable effects on world production through a similar influx into some other potentially great agricultural land. But we have little room left for these new-comers on our own farms. That is, not unless we are to force our present farm population into the cities more rapidly than now, certainly not a desirable tendency.

Next, what about the re-payment of Europe's war debts to us? Powerful financial interests who hold second mortgages on some of our former allies, are urging that we as a nation cancel our first mortgage. That would be good business for them, no doubt. But would it be good business for the people of the United States as a whole?

If we force payment, may we not have to take their goods in return, possibly even some of the agricultural products from their colonies? At all events we would probably have to turn over our foreign markets to them. They must have some place to sell their goods if they are to pay us. And if these cheaper goods enter into competition with our own either here or abroad, it would, presumably, depress our manufacturing activity and adversely affect the farmer's home market, which after all is his most important consideration.

How to get back what rightfully belongs to us without at the same time upsetting our own markets, is a ques-

tion that demands careful thought. The best immediate effect upon business of all kinds, including agriculture, could no doubt be produced just now by advancing further credits to nations that need our goods. But this is probably not advisable, at least not until Europe shows more evidence of getting down to work, eliminating war talk and war expenditures, and balancing her national budgets.

An international economic conference would be useful in driving this idea home. Certainly we as a nation should do what any far-sighted creditor would do; namely, assist the debtor to get on his feet again so he can pay his debts and buy our goods.

Right now, we are hearing a great deal about a merchant marine—the necessity of owning our own delivery wagons in which to deliver our goods to foreign countries. Before the war the freight rate from New York to Central American points was the same as the rate from Hamburg to those same points. This placed our American producers under a serious handicap, but since we had to depend on foreign ships there was nothing to be done about it. Now we operate our own line and rates have been cut.

Certainly it is desirable to have our own ship lines, but the American farmer is justified in asking whether these new lines would tend to bring in agricultural products to compete with his own. Ocean transportation is relatively cheap, consequently the flow of products from one country to another is comparatively free. The buying power of the American people is viewed with longing by those in other countries whose markets have been narrowed as a result of the war. The wealth of this country and its high consuming power make it the object of the desire of traders the world over. Nearly every nation except the United States is in great need of increasing its national earnings by a favorable balance of trade. Consequently they will sell everything that can be sold to the United States. As soon as world affairs have become better adjusted, the effort will be made to enter our markets with the products of many countries whose natural resources and low standards of living enable them to produce at much lower costs per unit.

This brings us to certain angles of the tariff question.

For years tariff was of comparatively little value or importance to the American farmer except in the case of a few products like wool and sugar. Our southern states, in fact, were almost solidly opposed to tariff protection since their main product, cotton, met with no competition from abroad. But since the war we find an insistent demand for tariff legislation from the South for protection from a competition previously entirely unknown. For a decade cotton-seed oil had the food-products market completely to itself. Then suddenly the Orient began sending in large quantities of vegetable oils that competed directly with cotton-seed oil. This trade was started when the submarine campaign during the war practically closed the European market. But once started there developed extensive industries in the United States based upon the use of this oil. American peanut growers met a similar competition from the Orient, where cheap coolie labor is able to produce peanuts much cheaper than is possible in America. Likewise, the dairy industry is growing rapidly in several parts of the world, to an extent that may develop serious competition for American dairymen if they are not adequately protected. The sheep business of the western range country was seriously crippled by sudden importations of ten to twenty million pounds of wool per month, before the Emergency Tariff Act.

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A farm home near Pitman, New Jersey

We cannot well avoid severe competition with agricultural products of other nations in foreign markets, but why should we buy our mutton and wool, our sugar and vegetable oils, our eggs and our lemons in foreign markets when we have the land, the equipment and the farmers to produce them here? There is only one answer: In order to keep or restore the balance there must be protection for the farmer which will place him on a fair basis to compete with the imported product.

Then there is the broad question of the possible relations of the great consuming nations of Europe with Russia. One of these days Russia will come back. And when she does there is good reason for believing that she will be a great surplus producer of foods. Before the war she supplied Europe with a large share of the extra wheat which we now export. She is expected to do much more in the future. It is understood that England's early negotiations for assistance to Russia have been based upon the prerequisite that she develop her agriculture first. England is looking for cheap food. Some of her spokesmen sometimes threaten to supply their cotton needs elsewhere, unless we can furnish it to them cheaper than at present. Any arrangement England or France may make with Russia is of exceedingly great interest to America.

Enough has been said here, I take it, to indicate that the interests of the American farmer come in contact with, not to say cross, those of foreign countries at many points.

This is a good and sufficient reason for the perpetuation of the so-called "farm bloc," entirely aside from its need in meeting domestic problems.

The "farm bloc" is merely a group of men in Congress who recognize that an economic upheaval threatens the

Nation if the foundations of our prosperity are weakened; that national prosperity is primarily dependent upon agricultural prosperity and that there is need of legislative and economic readjustments to give agriculture an equal opportunity to develop.

Our manufacturing, transportation and trading interests have made such amazing progress, and urbanization has gone forth so rapidly that for the moment many have forgotten that our national prosperity is rooted in the soil. We need to get back to a better realization of this basic principle.

In carrying out the necessary readjustments, both as to domestic and as to foreign relationships of the farmer, there will be constant need of support of intelligent public opinion. One of the most valuable, most patriotic and in the end most self-interested things our citizenship can do at this time is to give honest, constructive thought to the problems confronting the future of American agriculture.

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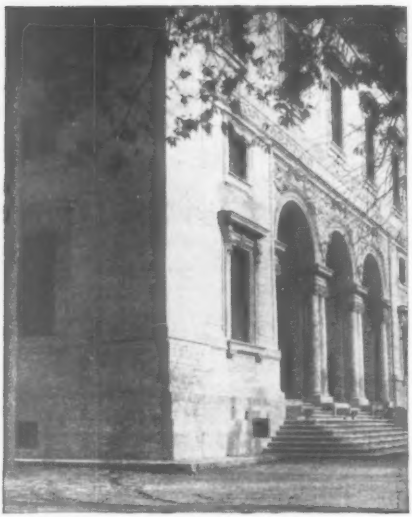
A California orchard



The facade of the Institute of Agriculture at Rome

The Farmers' World League At Rome

The International Institute of Agriculture, Founded Through the Perseverance of David Lubin, an American, and the Cooperation of an Italian King, Unites the Old World and the New in Bonds of Economic Service

By Olivia Rossetti Agresti

Secretary of the General Confederation of Italian Industries whose Biography of David Lubin has recently been published.

EVERY now and again someone arises who actually carries the world a step forward toward the realisation of the ideal of a world set free. One such was David Lubin of Poland and California.

"What is a Government?" he asked. A government, after all, is but a series of departments for carrying on the business of a nation. And as international needs lead to the formation of departments to carry on business of the several nations in their relations to each other, we shall one day awake to the fact that international government has been evolved, not so much as the result of a deliberate, conscious effort toward that end as in response to positive, practical needs. The development of modern means of transit and communication, of modern finance, industry, trade, science, and travel have paved the way for such organized international life."

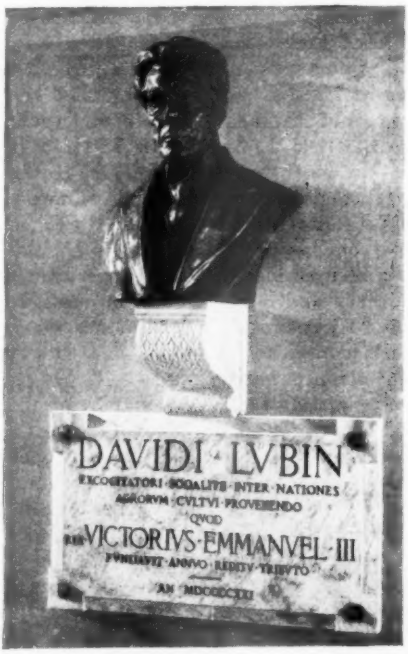
It was in this belief that David Lubin took up his advocacy of a cause which at last found concrete form in the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome.

The name makes the inquirer think of something amiable and harmless, to which to give smiling approval. Few know that what David Lubin brought to Europe from America was nothing less than the idea of the first League of Nations for economic purposes which, as a result of his untiring efforts and of that faith which moves mountains, was established through the initiative of King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy, and has been operating for the past eleven years under a treaty now ratified by sixty-two nations.

It was in October, 1904, that David Lubin came to Rome. He brought with him a scrap-book in which he had pasted certain letters of introduction "to all whom it may concern," and various papers and documents proving his status as a merchant of good repute with a business in Sacramento, Cal. That was all the outside help he had. He knew no one in Italy, and the only language he spoke was the

forcible, picturesque English of the Far West. He was a man somewhat over 50, of marked and vigorous physiognomy, with a long, narrow-shaped head thatched with an abundant crop of thick black hair sprinkled with gray. He had shaggy, overhanging eyebrows, piercing yet kindly gray eyes, a prominent but not aggressive nose, and the wide mouth of an orator. Of average middle height, powerfully built, he looked older than his years, for his robust frame was constantly shaken by a racking cough which affected his heart and made it impossible for him to walk more than a few yards or to mount the stairs without severe strain, alarming and distressing to behold.

This American had come to Rome as a missionary. Planting thumb and two first fingers of his powerful hand firmly on the table and speaking slowly, incisively, in his loud resonant voice, he would say that society could be compared to a tripod resting on three legs, urban commerce and finance, urban labor, and agriculture. Remove one of these and the structure falls, and as he said so his thumb would bend under and the figurative tripod topple. To him the agricultural problem was no mere technical problem of production nor yet a mere problem in economics. First and foremost he placed its political aspect, for he saw in the small, land-owning farmer the main support of a free Democracy.



A bust of David Lubin commemorating also the aid of King Victor Emmanuel in founding the Institute of Agriculture

He held that the health and prosperity of a democracy depends on maintaining the due balance of power between the industrial, commercial and financial activities of the city and the agricultural activities of the country-side. Agricultural prosperity is the resultant of two factors, production and distribution, which must keep pace under conditions favorable to equitable price-fixing. Then the land-owning farmer thrives; and he, as Lubin pointed out, is Nature's conservative, the surest bulwark against the excesses of the radicals of labor or of high finance and commerce.

The twentieth century is the age of associated effort, of unions, trusts, combines. Labor, Commerce, Finance understand this and protect their interests by combining both nationally and internationally. There is no need for Government to look out for the interests of the cotton or oil or steel industry, for the shipping federation, for high finance or for Trade Unions.

With agriculture the world over the case has stood differently. On the farm distances are often great, hours long, and work exhausting. Hitherto his part has been to produce and to allow the "other

The International Institute of Agriculture

fellow " to do the marketing, the price-fixing, the buying and the selling. In the interest of the community as a whole, Mr. Lubin believed that it behooved the State to intervene and assist the farmer to assist himself.

His conclusions were not the academic deductions of a theorist. Lubin had all his life been that most practical of men, an idealist dealing in facts. Brought as a fatherless infant to the United States from his native Russian Poland, he had been trained in the hard school of poverty and labor. At twelve years of age he was earning his living as a jeweller's apprentice at Attleboro, Mass. A strong native strain of idealism and natural rectitude and honesty of character had been fostered and developed by his mother to whom he always referred as the dominating influence of his life.

After an adventuresome, rough-living youth, Lubin went into commerce and opened a small clothing shop in Sacramento, California. He adopted from the start the system of fixed prices; there should be no lying or over-charging in his shop if he could help it. Fortune and his own ingenuity and ability favored him, and he became a pioneer in the Department Store and mail-order business. In a few years the youth who had started with a few cheap goods in a shanty had become a prosperous and respected merchant.

In 1884, a memorable date in his career, his mother, a pious and strictly orthodox Jewess, reminded him of his promise to take her to the Holy Land when he should be well enough off. The experience could not but make a deep impression on his mind. He realised as never before the tragedy of his race, and the responsibility of belonging to what he believed to be a messianic people. He returned to California with a settled purpose, self-elected to Service.

His first step was to buy a farm. He wished to master agriculture. He set to work with a will and was successful on his fruit and wheat ranch as he had been in his store. The combination of farmer and merchant is a good one to set a man thinking, and David Lubin began to think furiously.

He soon noted that when he was in his shop he was protected by the

tariff, and that the cost of that tariff to the public was not the cost of the duty imposed on the imported goods, but the cost of that duty multiplied by the interest charged by each of several middlemen before reaching the consumer. But when he was on his farm that protection ceased. Wheat, for instance, was on the tariff book, but wheat in the United States happened to be an export and not an import, and slipped out under the tariff wall. Thus the American farmer was selling his staples at the world's free trade price, and was buying all the manufactured goods he required at the American protected price. It was at his expense that the gigantic profits of the trusts were being piled up.

As farmer and merchant he was also brought up against the question of carriage and its influence on the price of farm products. In this connection he played a pioneer part in the organization of the fruit growers of California. Railway rates were prohibitive to the small man. Lubin started his campaign with the railroads. He tried to show them that the value of their lines must be determined by the prosperity of the farmers to right and left of the track. After a hard fight a certain success crowned his efforts, and the foundations for the prosperity of the California fruit industry were laid.

In doing this work Lubin was led to realise that the markets for agricultural staples were international; that cereals, cotton, wool, and the like are sold by public auction on the produce exchanges of the world, and that the prices obtained for them are world prices affected by world conditions.

Lubin wanted to know how the price of the wheat he grew in Calusa County, Cal., was arrived at. He was told that it was mainly a question of supply and demand. The demand in the case of such staples as wheat or cotton was

The Balustrade and Park

pretty generally known, but how about the supply? He applied to the Department of Agriculture in Washington. He learned, what of course he already knew, that the United States had a comprehensive system of crop-reporting, and he was given to understand that he should be satisfied with that.

But Lubin could not blind himself to the fact that Russia and Rumania and Hungary and Argentina and South Africa and Australia and Canada and a few other countries grew wheat and that the price which the American farmer got was substantially influenced by the shrinkage or expansion of that supply.

Washington Rebuffs Lubin

ANY reports which the Department of Agriculture might publish on foreign crops could only be second-hand information, and could not supply commerce with an official summary of production. Inquiry showed that a certain number of countries had their own systems of crop-reporting—Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and some others; but the reports they got out were belated, more for the purposes of official statistics than for current commercial use. Moreover, each country prepared the data on its own system, regardless of what the others were doing, so that the available information was valueless for a world summary; while the producing centers of most importance for international trade,—Russia, Rumania, Argentina, Canada,—had no system beyond occasional reports.

The markets of the world used data furnished by private concerns. The reports were biased by the interests represented, opportunities for price manipulation were not neglected, and the markets vibrated in response. The "bull" and the "bear" reigned supreme.

Lubin attempted to point this out to the authorities at the Department of Agriculture and to show that here was a field which called for international action. He was looked upon as a crank and a bore.

Having failed to make any headway in Washington, Lubin went to Europe. This was in the autumn of 1904.

He stayed a short while in England but made no headway there. He then went to Paris and called on some of the leading professors of economy, to whom he tried to explain his views through the medium of a Cook's interpreter. The result was negative. But Lubin was not to be discouraged. He was determined to knock at all doors until he found that which would open. He went to Rome.

It happens that Italy has for her Chief Executive a very remarkable man. If Victor Emmanuel were not the sovereign of the country he would certainly be one of its foremost citizens. A descendant of the oldest Royal House in Europe, he is the modern head of a modern people. He is essentially modest, simple, democratic. His mind is well stored with knowledge; he is a man to whom deeds and not words appeal; he has a keen eye for a humbug and a sycophant, and no use for either.

Lubin's Welcome at Rome

THIS was the man to whom David Lubin brought his idea in October, 1904. Italy was in the throes of a general election. Lubin was told that it was not an "opportune moment" for his proposal.

"There is no such thing as an opportune moment," he would reply; "it is not a question of the moment but of the value of the matter under consideration."

Before he had been in Rome two weeks he got the ear of the then Minister of the Treasury, Luigi Luzzatti,

famous in the annals of cooperation and government finance. Luzzatti grasped the significance of the proposal the Californian laid before him.

"You have a great and practical idea. What can I do for you?"

"Get me an audience with your King," Lubin replied, and the letter which was to serve as a passport was straightway written.

In the spirit in which the ancient prophets approached the Kings of Israel, Lubin set out to see the King of Italy at his shooting-box at San Rossore, near Pisa.

"The success of a merchant is reckoned by the amount of dollars he succeeds in accumulating; the success of a King by the work of historic importance which he succeeds in accomplishing. I bring you a proposal for a work of great historic importance. Italy is well suited to be the initiator of this work, for she is neither a preponderating buyer nor a preponderating seller of the staples of agriculture; she is, in this respect, a neutral power, and a proposal emanating from her will not arouse the suspicions either of the buyers or of the farmers."

The King of Italy Backs the Plan

HE presented his proposal to the King from the standpoint of the statesman. He pointed out the instability of the social fabric as it then stood; the need for offsetting the restless and progressive energies of the city by the stable conservatism of the country. In the case of agriculture, he explained, the initiative towards strengthening and organizing it must come from above. The policy could not be properly objected to as "class legislation," for existing conditions affected adversely not only the farmer but also commerce and industry.

The King listened to the Californian for the best part of three-quarters of an hour, while the Prefect, the Mayor, and the Bishop of Pisa waited in the ante-room. At the close of the conference King Victor Emmanuel promised to have the matter placed before his ministers and if it met with their approval he himself would call an international conference of government delegates with a view to the establishment of a World Chamber of Agriculture. David Lubin had successfully accomplished the first stage in his self-appointed task.

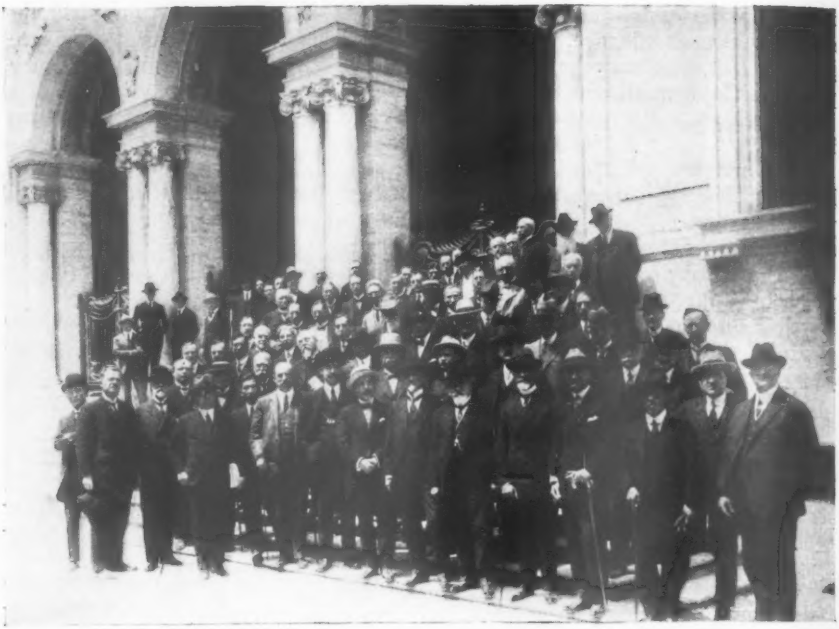
By the end of January, 1905, Victor Emmanuel published a letter addressed to his Prime Minister, Sig. Giolitti, recommending Lubin's project to the Government.

The Institute Established

IN May, 1915, the official representatives appointed by the Governments of forty nations met in Rome and drew up the Convention establishing an official international crop-reporting bureau, a world clearing house for information on the economics and technique of agriculture, a permanent international economic parliament with power, under article 9 letter (f) of the convention, to propose to the adhering governments measures for the protection of the common interests of farmers.

Thus was born the International Institute of Agriculture to which sixty-two Governments are now adhering members. It is housed in the gardens of the Villa Borghese in a palace built by the King of Italy, and endowed by him out of his private means to the extent of 300,000 lire a year. Besides this endowment its annual income, amounting to well over a million francs is derived from the yearly quota which each adhering government is required to pay.

The work of this Institute,—its Bulletins on agricultural cooperation and credit, on the Science and Practice of Agriculture, its Yearbooks of Agri-



Delegates to the General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture, May, 1922

cultural Legislation and Agricultural Statistics,—are well known to students of these subjects. Its monthly reports showing the world acreage under the various crops, their conditions, the harvest prospects and harvest yields, exports, imports and stocks; prices and freight rates, cabled to the several governments, afford all concerned official, reliable data on the supply available to meet current demand; and this knowledge, officially published at stated intervals, tends to minimize the weight given to the conflicting rumors with which "bull" and "bear" seek to influence the market. The Institute inaugurated this service in 1909, just after James Patten had made himself notorious by cornering the Chicago wheat market. Since that date we have heard no more of corners in wheat.

David Lubin was appointed by President Roosevelt to act as American delegate on the governing body of the Institute, known as the Permanent Committee, and he served in this capacity until his death on the first of January, 1919. He had the satisfaction of seeing the Institute pass safely through the stormy years of war, the one international body for peaceful purposes which never closed its doors, performing a task of vital importance to both belligerents and neutrals, giving early warning of the coming world shortage, affording producers in neutral countries notice of their opportunity, and supplying the food-controllers with the basic data which they needed in order to formulate and carry out their necessary policies.

Now, when economic reconstruction is the supreme problem the nations have to face, further opportunity has come for developing to the full its possibilities. A vast change has come over the world since the Institute

originally opened its doors in 1908.

David Lubin then had in mind a broad constructive policy. He wished the Institute to be in touch not only with the Governments but also with the farmers of the world through their national organizations. He wished it to be not only a world crop-reporting bureau, not only a clearing-house of information but also a live, active parliament or forum for the discussion and adoption of economic policies in the interets of economic equity the world over. This was the program espoused by the Italian King and Government, and outlined in the proposals drawn up by the Italian Committee for discussion at the Conference of 1905. But at that date such a conception of constructive international action along economic lines was ahead of the times. To-day it is no longer so. The war could not have been won had there not been such international action between the Allies, and Peace has only accentuated the need for international cooperation.

The Institute and the New World

NEW countries have arisen in Europe and Asia. It is essential that they be assisted and guided in their agricultural policies if they are not to become pawns in the hands of international price manipulators, to their own injury and to the injury of producers and consumers the world over. The Institute, in which they enter as equals, is the body through which such guidance and assistance can best be given without arousing national jealousies. There are grave questions of policy to be settled as regards carriage, pure food legislation, emigration and immigration of agricultural labor, crop insurance and credit, the development of the resources of backward countries, the utilisation of the agricultural possibilities of colonial and tropical countries, the regular, unimpeded movement of staple raw materials to industrial centres which do not possess them but where they must be had if unrest and revolution are to be avoided. The treaty under which the International Institute of Agriculture operates makes it the proper channel for the consideration of such matters and for the drafting of international conventions which may be required.

Forces for World Unity

EVENTS are slowly but surely working in the direction of a highly organised international life. Modern means of transit and communication, the telegraph, the cable, the telephone, the wireless, the railway, the motorcar, the steamer, the aeroplane, have linked up the world, making one whole of its divided parts. The component organs of the future international government are also forming, and so obviously necessary do they appear that they hardly excite comment in a matter-of-fact world. International departments of the post-office, of agriculture, of hygiene, of labor, have come into being; international departments of commerce, of transports, of finance, are growing up, arising out of the crying needs of the hour. Thus, gradually, step by step, that League of Nations, in danger of shipwreck on the shoals of political interests will yet come safely into port under the flag of economic solidarity.

In this life the Institute of Agriculture is fitted to play an important part. It touches on the most intricate problems of modern life, the production, distribution and price-fixing of the staples which feed and clothe the men, women and children of the world. Arising from the efforts of an American idealist and the action of an Italian King, it symbolises that close cooperation between the Old World and the New which alone can insure peace and prosperity to mankind.

Chile's Commoner President

"Don Arturo", the Leader of the Land of "More or Less", Guiding His Ship of State Against the Buffeting of a Hostile Congress, Is Working for a Greater and More Prosperous Nation

By Earl Chapin May

HIS Excellency, Arturo Alessandri Palma, President of the Republic of Chile, sweltered on a balcony of his palace, The Moneda of Santiago. The December sun was hot, and he had a mob to deal with.

Before him, filling the *plaza* from palace wall to opposite Army Building and from *Edificio de El Diario Ilustrado* on the east to *Calle Teatinos* on the west, the President's most insistent constituents milled and muttered. At any moment they might turn from muttering to murders.

They were of the proletariat of Chile. Politically they were Radicals because they hated the Conservatives —the old Chilean aristocracy. Socially, through class inheritance, they were *rotos*—Spanish-Indian laboring men. They were out of jobs.

They had elected "Don Arturo" to the Presidency, these small, swarthy, powerful *rotos*. He was one of them. He had told them so. He had always been a Liberal or Radical. He was for democracy; for them.

When they addressed him as "Don" it was not with the old Spanish meaning of "Gentleman" or "Mister." It was in a more affectionate, intimate sense, much as the Yankees or *Norteamericanos* spoke to their "Teddy" when that great man visited Chile. "Teddy" was the great commoner President of *los Estados Unidos;* "Don Arturo" was the great commoner President of Chile—their first ruler chosen from outside "Chile's first hundred families."

The Radical *rotos* were fond of "Don Arturo," their champion. But he had promised much before election, and little had come forth. Therefore, they called upon him in force—for the twentieth time. What did their "Don Arturo" propose to do about matters of the moment?

Did they but know it, their beloved President was in the same difficulty as many other statesmen of the time. He had not the slightest idea in the world as to what he was going to do.

These child-like *rotos* were easily managed when they had food, *fiesta*, wine and money. But when the world went wrong they were frightfully handy with the knife—the "*curvo*." "Don Arturo" knew that. So he pulled the brim of his soft felt hat over his eyes, leaned over the balcony rail and summoned those convenient oratorical powers bequeathed to him by an Italian father and a Chilean-Spanish mother.

"Don Arturo" usually knew what to talk about. His skill in public speech raised him to the Presidency. Upon one day he might speak of the hateful Peruvians and Tacna-Arica. Upon another he might hint at better prices for *salitre*, the Chilean nitrate of soda. Upon still another occasion he might attack the oppressive, greedy land-holding oligarchy, those wealthy *hacendados* who opposed him in Congress. It always explained his inability to carry out promised reforms—especially reforms affecting the laboring man.

Today, to the keen-eyed, lithe little men surging about his balcony, their hero grew eloquent upon the prospect of finding work for them, for them and other idle men living in the *albergues* or free government lodging houses. He, their President, felt that soon there might be employment for them in the grain fields of the great central valley. Or if the spring were too far advanced for that, in the timber lands farther south. In any event the Government — his Government — would take care of them. If they were moved to some other city it would be on state railways at state expense. If they remained in Santiago the Government — his Government — would continue to feed them.

"You are suffering! All Chileans are suffering," shouted the first citizen of Chile. "It is for *nuestra patria*, for our country. We must defend ourselves from enemies within and enemies without. I am fighting for you with my back to the wall."

DON ARTURO ALESSANDRI PALMA
Chile's First Commoner President

The *rotos* roared with approval. That was the stuff! Congress was tying the hands of their President. The Peruvians and Bolivians were always threatening the northern border. But "Don Arturo" would find a way out. He was feeding them and giving them shelter. More roars of approval. Then silence.

From the mass of jobless working men came the strident voice of an unconverted malcontent:

"If you do not stop your *policia* from giving us the smallpox vaccination we will go to the Senate about it."

"For God's sake don't go to the Senate with anything more," cried the exasperated President of Chile. "I have troubles enough with the Senate already."

"Don Arturo" backed from the balcony into the protecting privacy of his palace.

"I can't do anything with them today," he complained. He turned to Major Zanartu, his military aide, with: "Please ask Captain Castro to get the *carabineros* out in force and to push my *roto* friends across the river into their *albergues*. Tell him

"Don Arturo summoned those oratorical powers bequeathed him by an Italian father and a Chilean-Spanish mother"

not to shoot unless he has to." The aide departed in haste.

Presently there came from beyond the balcony the sounds of ironshod horses, scrambling along slippery cobblestones, the rattle of sword and scabbard against revolver, bayonet and carbine barrel. The constabulary of Chile was gently herding the protesting common people into regions removed from the eighteenth century mint which housed the heads of the Chilean Government.

"Don Arturo" sighed as he eased himself into the red silk cushions of a palace chair.

Any President of a Republic who seeks to guide an overloaded ship of State through a hostile Congress need not worry about Satan and his own idle hands. The situation is more trying if the Cabinet Ministers rigidly support the rule: "One out, all out."

I cannot tell you how many Cabinets President Arturo Alessandri has appointed since he came into office, December 23rd, 1920. One of Alessandri's Cabinets remained in office just twenty-four hours. It was one of several coalition Cabinets. There are seldom less than six active political parties in Chile, such as Radicals, Liberals, Conservatives, Socialists, Balmacedistas, Nationalists, and variations of each. Presidential elections are effected by alliances of political parties. The President of Chile rarely has the backing of a majority of Congress. That elective body, composed of Senators or *Senadores* and Deputies or *Diputados*, is supposed to give each incoming Cabinet a vote of confidence. If this vote is not forthcoming the Cabinet is promptly outgoing.

Excepting upon state occasions, calling upon "Don Arturo" after office hours is merely a matter of walking past the two tawny sentries who stand at the palace door in gray uniforms and black leather, brass-spiked helmets, past a room on either

side filled with soldiers of the guard, past another sentry who paces before the doorway to the President's suite, thence up a long flight of steps covered with red velvet, to an ununiformed attendant who takes one's hat, coat and stick, and shows one into a reception room, rather red with much furniture and hangings.

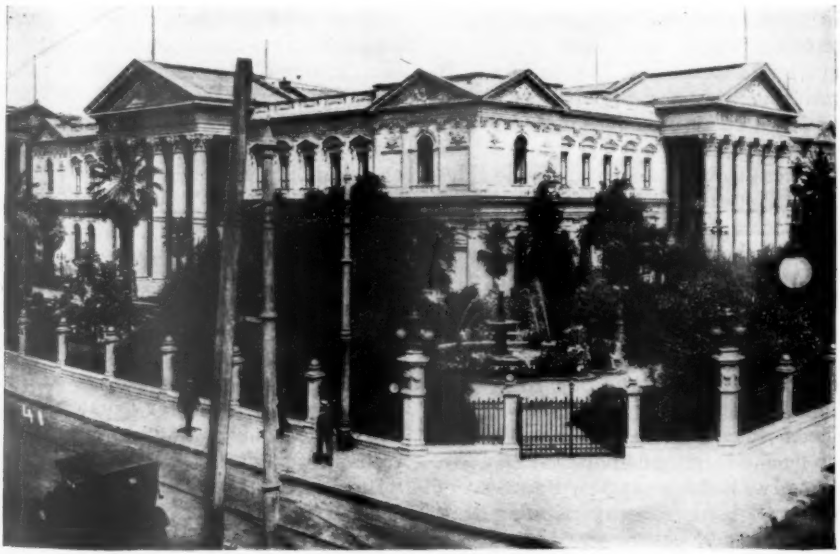
There "Don Arturo" presently wishes you "*Buenas tardes*," and conducts you into the hospitable "front room."

On this particular evening there were: *la señora*, Doña Rosa Ester Rodriguez de Alessandri, with seven of her eight children. It was a typical middle-class Chilean family, all looking exceedingly young, "Don Arturo's" brown, curly hair, parted over a smooth face, blue eyes and prominent nose, and *la señora* de Alessandri's round, unlined cheeks and musical voice appearing in her numerous progeny.

The President of Chile could not appear at will before Congress, hence members of his Congress appeared before him.

The mature and matter of fact Señor Ismael Torcornal, Minister of the Interior, arrived with the youthful and efficient Señor Barros Jarpa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to discuss the recent reception of the Ambassador from *los Estados Unidos*, Dr. William Miller Collier, just arrived from Washington via England, France and Spain.

"Your new Ambassador," remarked Señor Torcornal in his easy English, "made a splendid impression upon us. He is a cultured gentleman. He speaks with faultless Spanish. Those two things are of great importance. We will understand each other. He spoke of the unbroken friendship between Chile and *los Estados Unidos*, of the $200,000,000 of your capital invested in Chile, of the prospect of our summer fruits selling in your winter markets, of increasing travel between the countries, of exchange of professors and college students. In all those



The Chilean Congressional Building, where Alessandri meets most of his opposition

things we take pleasure and pride.

"President Alessandri was happy in his reply," Señor Torcornal continued. "Speaking of the Monroe Doctrine, our President said: 'It is now a concrete expression of moral and economic solidarity of the New Continent, to which we render enthusiastic belief, and adhere with sincere good will. We know that the might and power of the United States will continue to be the security and support needful for the development and prosperity of other American nationalities, as we know, also, that each one of these is a valuable element in the making of American advancement and prosperity.'"

How His Election Was Won

AS with others of those social-political sessions in the home of "Don Arturo" it was all very informal. The President stood or sat at ease, just as did his guests. Sometimes he read a memorandum and made verbal or penciled comments thereon. More often he disposed of a subject in brief conversation. At times four or five men in public office would chat with him at once. Much of the policy of government was shaped in this fashion. It was there, for the most part, that the political chess men were moved.

During a break in the procession of political runners I turned to the third son, Jorge, who speaks and understands English better than his father.

"His Excellency is having difficulty in keeping his pre-election promises," I suggested.

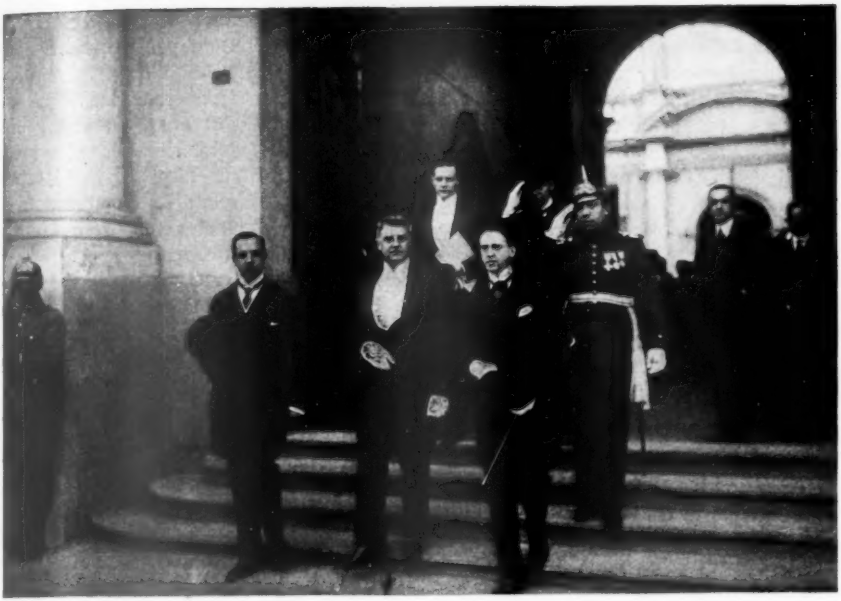
"That is true," Jorge admitted, "but it is because the world is upside down. No one buys our nitrate of soda. Since 1883 most of our national income has come from that. There is no business, but much distress in Chile.

"My father is the first President of Chile to hold office by popular vote. He is the first commoner to rise to the Presidency of Chile. The leaders in our long war for independence from Spain were scions of Spanish *hidalgos* who came here to found their fortunes. They fought hard for what they got, but they opposed the rule by the people. Almost without exception the President of the Republic has been a man of high birth, good family connections and great wealth. The country was, therefore, taken by surprise, when the Liberal convention nominated my father, 'Don Arturo' Alessandri, for the Presidency of Chile. He was a prominent *abogado* or lawyer and had been a *Diputado* and Cabinet Minister, but he was a poor man and outside the social and political pale. His opponent was Señor Luis Barros, historian, teacher, barrister, noted public man, nephew of an ex-president, representative of all the Conservative ideals.

"It was a hot campaign. The vote was close. Congress could not decide which candidate was to be President. The Unionist-Conservative party controlled Congress. Public opinion forced the appointment of a Tribunal of Honor to examine records and decide. There were seven gentlemen on this Tribunal. Five belonged to the Unionist-Conservative party, only two to the party of my father. Each candidate was represented by an *abogado* or solicitor. My eldest brother, Arturo, represented my father. We won, because right was on our side."

A Liberal Democrat in Politics

ALTHOUGH President Alessandri is frequently described by his opponents as a *roto* and disturbing demagog, and does not stand high in the Chilean social register, his father, Pedro Alessandri, was son of the first Italian Minister to Chile. His mother, Susana Palma, was of good rural Chilean stock and Spanish ancestry. "Don Arturo" was born in the village of Langavi, Province of Linares,



The new American ambassador, Dr. William Miller Collier (center), has made a splendid impression in Santiago

in 1868. His early education was acquired in the Sacred Heart School of Santiago. During several subsequent years he worked in the National Library and studied law. He was admitted to the Chilean Bar in 1883. Soon after he joined the Liberal Progressive Club. Later he became secretary of the executive committee of the Liberal Party. The Liberal Alliance, which included the Radical party, brought about his election to the Presidency of Chile.

In the United States "Don Arturo" would be known as a "people's party man." Among the reforms to which he is pledged are workmen's compensation, national prohibition — he neither drinks nor smokes—and actual universal male suffrage. His election was comparable to that of President Alvaro Obregon of Mexico. He carries democracy to the details of his daily life.

In spite of thousands of restless and revolutionary unemployed at large in Santiago, the President goes about the city alone, excepting for his wee dog, "Tony," also of humble origin. The twain may be seen almost any morning, walking up *Alameda de las Delicias* to Santiago's celebrated rock, *Cerro Santa Lucia*. The thorofares are practically deserted, excepting for the little policemen who, far apart, signal each other with shrill whistles. Yet a night prowler in Santiago may meet the President of Chile, taking the air on these lonesome streets in the middle of the night, solitary and unarmed.

Wherever he goes in public the common people cheer "Don Arturo." But the erstwhile ruling class—the aristocratic five per cent—and those who seek their social eminence, are silent when their President appears.

The great social gulf which yawns

between the Chilean commoner President and the socially elect of Chile was painfully pictured to Mrs. May and me as we sat at table in the *Club de las señoras* upon the night of the reception to Señor Juan Antonio Buero, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Uruguay.

President Alessandri, Señora Alessandri, Señor and Señora Antonio Buero and others of the official party appeared at the door of the dining room, crowded with the society people of Santiago. The party hesitated a moment, then proceeded across the floor to the Presidential table close to ours. After his guests and Señora Alessandri were seated, the President of Chile looked about him, straight into the eyes of those at nearby tables. Not a person gave him the slightest sign of recognition, nor did any guest rise, nor was there the feeblest attempt at applause or any other form of greeting.

"Does no one honor your President in this country?" I asked my neighbor.

"Not at social functions," he replied. "We are better than he is, here."

Out Among the People

ALTHOUGH I saw him many times I got my best slant on "Don Arturo" as his guest on a journey to Valparaiso, Chile's principal port city. His Excellency was invited to preside at the presentation of medals to students of *La Escuela Naval*, the Annapolis of Chile.

When we reached the first stop, Llay Llay, the station platform was jammed with brown-skinned, brown-clad followers. They yelled for their "Don Arturo." The latter stepped to the door, bareheaded. He waved his hand. Many cheers from the *rotos*. He descended the car steps while a Chilean village band played as do village bands in these United States.

The committee on presentation was there with scrolls and flowers. *Rotos* crowded about him and his party. Natives on the outskirts peered from trucks, barrels, poles, trees and other places of vantage. An old half-caste woman kissed his hand. Several wrinkled dames thrust fruit upon him. School children appeared with banners dedicated to "Don Arturo."

His Excellency shook hands with those nearest him. The train conductor blew upon his whistle. The locomotive replied in kind. "Don Arturo" and the rest of us climbed aboard while belated admirers were thrown off the train. "Don Arturo" waved his hand again. More cheers from the multitude. Then we pulled out.

How He Takes a Joke

THIS same business was repeated, with increasing crowds, at Calera, Quillota, Limache, Puerta Blanca, Quilpe, El Salto and Vina del Mar. At one stopping place an admirer in the crowd yelled "*cholo*" at him. A "*cholo*" is a low-born, half-caste Peruvian. But the appellation, coming from a friend, was accepted by "Don Arturo" and party as a joke. It was as if a farmer in Nebraska should shout "Greaser" to President Harding. Rather rough wit, but it went with all parties concerned. For the *rotos* were having their first inning in the history of Chile.

All previous rushes of *rotos* to our train were vastly outnumbered by the mass of unwashed humanity which greeted their commoner President at Valparaiso. Through the thousands of cheering adherents who stormed his car "Don Arturo" pushed his way to the Intendencia, where our party was quartered and from the balcony of which he addressed his best friends in Chile.

I stood by him on the balcony of

the Intendencia while he responded to their shrill yells for a speech. The most insistent problem before Alessandri and his subjects was that of employment for the loyal voters. But the Tacna-Arica question was up again for public discussion. Chile had proposed to Peru that the two nations finally decide as to the ownership of South America's Alsace-Lorraine. For nearly forty years Tacna-Arica has been a sure fire subject for all Chilean as well as Peruvian politicians. "Arturo" made the most of it. As an exhibition of spell binding it exceeded any political performance within my North American experience.

Feeling Toward the United States

SEÑOR and Señora Phillips gave a rather formal dinner at nine o'clock that night during which Lastarria and Señor Luis Gomez Carreno, *Contralmirante* of the Chilean Navy, regaled His Excellency and roused my ire by telling him how national prohibition had failed with us and what absurd and insulting regulations were enforced by our customs officials. "Don Arturo" was greatly intrigued.

Finally I broke in with: "Señores Lastarria and Gomez, just what is it about the United States you dislike?

"Nothing. Nothing at all," promptly responded the attorney and Minister of War.

"What about the Baltimore case of twenty years ago?" I insisted.

"It happened long ago," said Lastarria. "Two sailors from your warship, the Baltimore, got drunk on shore leave in a disreputable part of Valparaiso and were killed in a street fight. Your government made us pay enormous damage, by cable demand. But we have gotten all over that."

"What about the Alsop case?" I continued.

Chile had assumed certain obligations of Bolivia, held by a commercial house in which Americans were interested. The case was decided against us by British arbitration and we paid. That was also many years ago.

"And that's all?" I insisted.

"That's about all," he assured me. "We have no grievance against the United States."

And thus the dinner party ended.

"Don Arturo" on Chile's Future

DURING my last visit to him before leaving Chile, I asked "Don Arturo" a few questions as to his hopes and plans for Chile.

"We shall soon solve our pressing problems," he replied. "The Tacna-Arica question must be disposed of. Revival of nitrate demand will take care of our unemployed. I believe in prohibition for myself and the nation, and it will come. We must and shall improve our labor conditions, by law. We shall no longer depend upon nitrate for our national income but will diversify our industries. American capital is welcome, is coming, is protected and will give us the necessary help. More and more do we look to the United States with friendly eyes."

LOUIS PASTEUR

Celebrated French Scientist, whose centenary December 27, 1922, was the occasion of world-wide homage

An Immortal Scientist of France

An Appreciation of the Life-Work of Louis Pasteur Commemorating the Centenary of His Birth

By the MARQUISE DE CHAMBRUN

THE English divine, Dean Inge, was asked recently his choice of the six greatest men of the world, and after naming Plato, St. Paul, Shakespeare, Leonardo da Vinci, and Julius Caesar, said: "I choose as my representative of science the Frenchman Pasteur. If the human race had the sense to glorify its benefactors instead of its destroyers, it is men like Pasteur who would receive the highest honors that it can bestow."

The life work of Pasteur is well known as a whole. Even before he was graduated from the Normal School of Paris, the young student was marked for his lucidity of mind and gift of research. His first studies were in the domain of optics and of chemistry and his discoveries regarding crystallizations in acids led to his theory of "molecular dissymmetry" and to his knowledge of hidden life.

Pasteur's next step was to demonstrate that fermentation as well as putrefaction of organic matter is a phenomenon proceeding from life and not from death, as had been taught by Liebig and others, and that every fermentation is produced by a microorganism peculiar to itself. In the early sixties the theory of spontaneous generation was still upheld by part of the scientific world. In a course of lectures which were the sensation of the day, he established that living germs exist on every unsterilized surface and in the air, and further proved that there can be no life where similar life has not existed before. Contagion and infection were no longer a mystery; the specific nature of diseases, formerly unfathomable, was explained.

Then came the most important and far-reaching event in modern medicine—the prevention of a deadly infection by *itself* in the form of an attenuated virus, obtained by a method which Pasteur had studied for years before he gave it to the world. The first disease to be overcome was the anthrax of sheep and cattle, from which men also were not exempt. Then came the preventive treatment of rabies. The victories over these scourges were the crowning triumph of Pasteur. They were the starting point of the system of serotherapy.

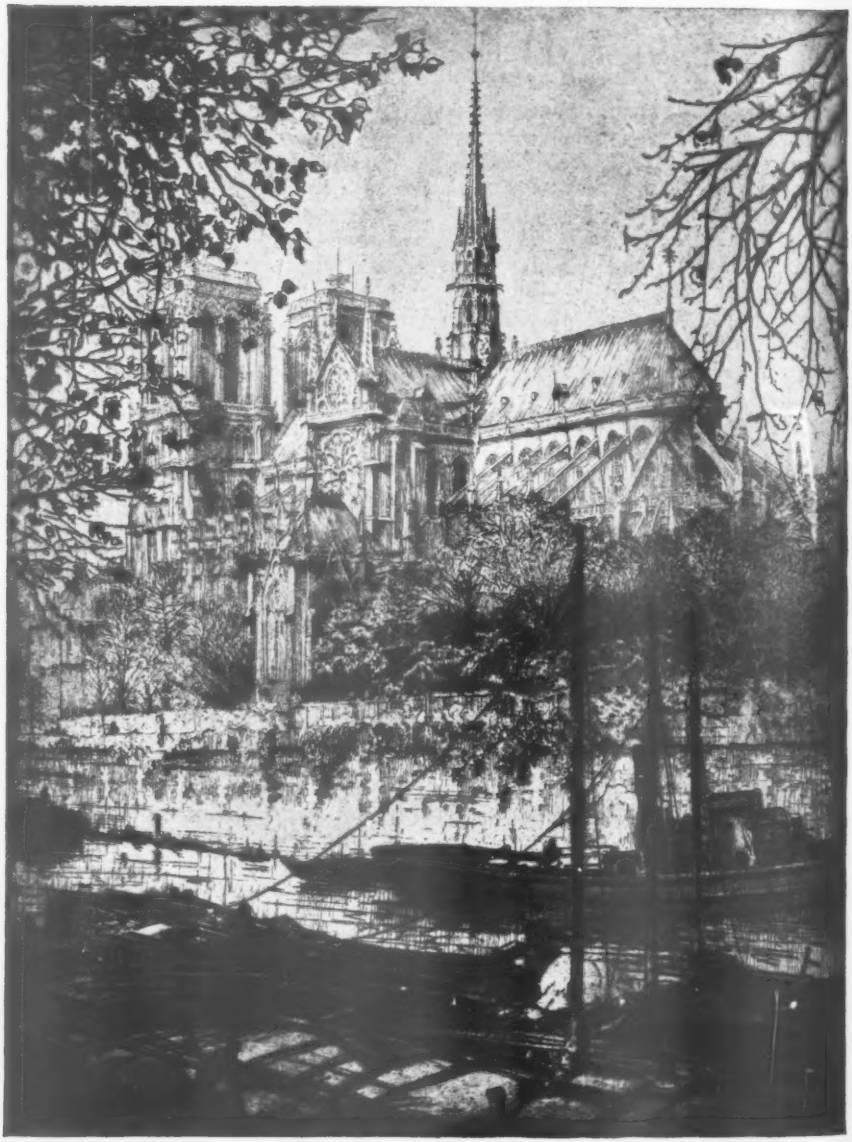
The Pasteur Institute was built by public international subscription after the triumph of his preventive treatment of rabies, and inaugurated in 1888. Pasteur entered his new domain at the age of 66, victorious, but —to use his own words—"vanquished by time." His joy was mingled with sadness that his capacity for work was no longer what it had been. Yet surely never was discouragement so out of place. Surrounded by his beloved co-workers, seeing in them and in his younger disciples the continuers of his work and his spirit, Pasteur lived seven years more in peaceful enjoyment of the family life which had always been his consolation, cherished by his wife, his children and his grand-children, and venerated by all. He survives in his discoveries which can never cease to be at the base of all that human invention can do to combat the infections which assail men.

He survives in his Institute, the child of his mind and the heir of all the works of his genius.

The Spirit of France

By Paul Bourget

Etchings by Robert Fulton Logan



NOTRE DAME, PARIS

In the collection of the Bibliothèque National, Paris, France.

JUST as France's troops are occupying the Ruhr region, this article from her famous author and academician interprets the inflexible determination of France to secure guarantees that the damages done in the war shall be made good.

FOR a Frenchman who like myself has not left his country since the terrible thunderbolt of August, 1914, it is saddening to learn—sometimes by reading the foreign newspapers, sometimes by conversations with travellers, on the whole sympathetic—how much our country is misunderstood. Her present psychology is very simple. I shall try to make clear the principal elements in the Spirit of France, elements which will be obvious to anyone who will honestly verify the facts.

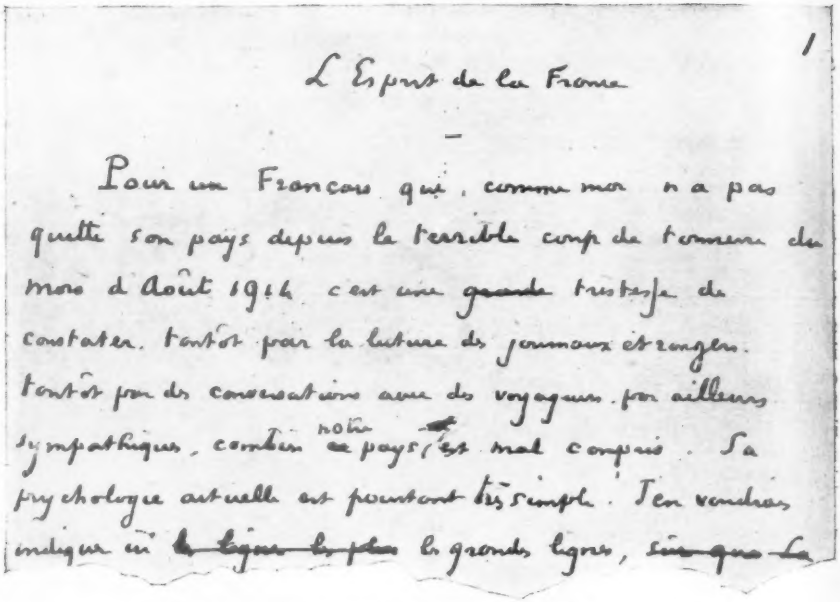
First of all, is it really necessary to prove that France did not desire the War? It is enough to recall the Spring of 1914, a spring of relaxation and gayety, when Parisian society was occupied with fancy-dress balls and the provincial elections gave a majority to the partisans of peace at any price. It was a common saying that war was impossible between nations tied together by so many financial interests. It was said that the very destructiveness of modern weapons made war unthinkable. I remember sharply a dinner, in that Spring of 1914, where among the guests were diplomats and statesmen. I expressed some inquietude about the possible consequences of the assassination of the Austrian Arch-Duke at Sarajevo. My forebodings stirred such a concert of irony, that I decided that I had become intoxicated with pessimism. The Spirit of France in those days was that of a happy, industrious people, who asked nothing beyond freedom to attend to their own affairs and left others to attend to theirs.

My generation, which had seen the disasters of 1870, certainly had not forgotten them, but my generation was disappearing little by little.

What an awakening! First the Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia, then the negotiations which followed, unveiling, even to the least clear sighted, the sinister German conspiracy! It was the shock of this surprise that explains why the "internal anarchy," on which the aggressors had had almost a right to count, gave place so immediately to a discipline, all the more vigorous, because it was spontaneous—like the reflex action of an organism, touched in a vital spot. France, in its entirety, from North to South, from East to West, felt its very existence was at stake. Such an attack, so sudden, so premeditated, so violent, gave testimony of a Will to Conquer, to Subjugate, so violent that to bend before it was to die.

There is still another memory from those days that haunts me: it is of the square in the provincial town where I chanced to be at the Declaration of War and of a regiment that crossed it on the way to the railroad station. The military unison of their steps was not more complete than the unanimity of their faces. Eight days before there had been there only individuals, the soldiers submitting to compulsory military service with more or less good humor, the civilians criticizing the government. Suddenly all these personalities melted into each other.

The etchings accompanying this article, so typical of the varied life of France and at the same time so interpretive of the spirit of the country, are by the distinguished American artist, Mr. Robert Fulton Logan, who has recently come from Paris to this country to present in various cities exhibitions of his more recent work.



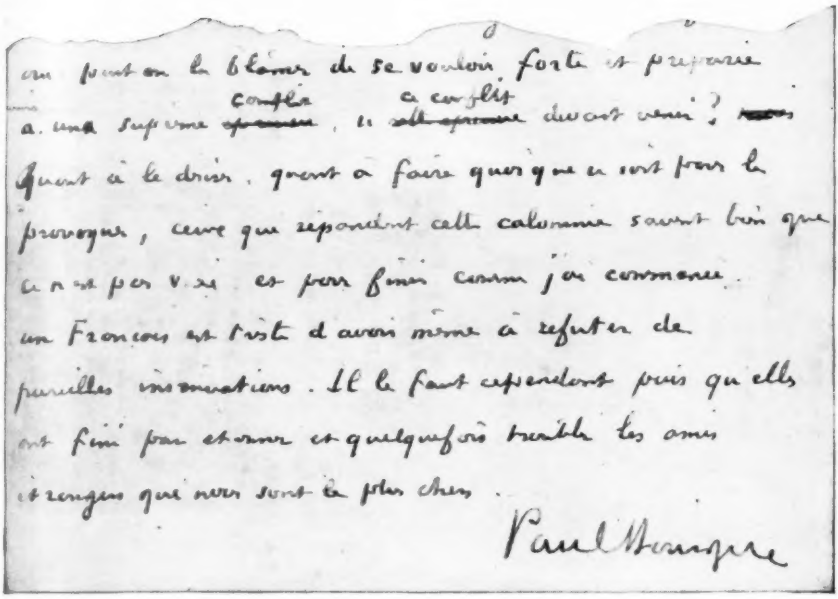
Part of the first page of M. Bourget's original manuscript

They made a single block—it was the same throughout the entire country.

A "reflex of defense," I have called it. It is indeed remarkable that this attitude should have remained unchanged through the four years of struggle, from the First Battle of the Marne to the Second and last; how the fighting qualities of the French are as fine today as in the Epoch of Napoleon. Yet not for a moment did the dream of starting a new imperial adventure enter the mind of any of our statesmen, like Poincaré and Clemenceau, who had presided over the Victory, nor of a single one of our Field Marshals—Joffre, Petain, Foch, Fayolle—Franchet d'Espernay, who won the Victory. If our representatives have written into the Treaty the right of occupying enemy territory, it is in no manner a permanent annexation, but merely a temporary safeguard. In other words, the Spirit of France has shown itself completely free from illusions of Imperialism and we are painfully surprised that this characteristic of our noble victory could be so misunderstood.

The reasons for this misunderstanding seem to me to be of different kinds. Let us denounce, first of all, the grossest of these reasons of misunderstanding—propaganda; which has not recoiled from any means to spread slander about our military and civilian leaders. Such a campaign of slander would have had no effect if we French did not find ourselves in very special circumstances, which impose on us certain necessities, which public opinion in other lands can not easily appreciate. These peculiar necessities can be summed up in a few words: We are obliged by our frontier to maintain a strong army, just as the English are obliged by their insular position, to maintain a navy adequate to defend their coasts.

Study the map! It shows us our



From the last page of the manuscript, showing the author's signature

point of danger: Paris, the heart of the nation, at so short a distance from an invader, who—four times in a hundred years—has marched on our capital, following in these attacks the path of Attilla in the V Century and of Otto IV in the XIII Century, to name among the ancient invasions only the two which are most famous.

That the France of 1922—the ruins of our towns and villages still disfiguring the land—wishes to maintain at any price a solid wall of soldiers between herself and her eternal invader is a precaution more than legitimate—it is necessary! That this same France insists that on the contrary the invader shall remain as thoroughly disarmed as the Peace Treaty, which she signed, demands, is not less legitimate, nor less necessary.

For the Iron Chancellor, as for the German Emperor of 1914, military force had but one purpose, hegemony—European hegemony first, then World Domination. For France, military force is a tool of defense.

There is one first point to be noted; France has no ethnic unity. The elements of which she is composed are the most diverse: Celts, Latins, Franks, Iberians, to cite but a few of them. The nation took form slowly as the Roman Empire decayed. But what was this Empire? It was the most successful type of the political form for which the word "Imperialism" should be reserved—"a superior state imposing on inferior states, by force, a civilization of which it remains the chief." In modern times, Imperialism has been practiced with the same methods and with the same success, but by whom? By England. Imperialism may have its good sides. When the dominating people are truly superior, it may be considered beneficent. Where would Civilization be, if Rome had not conquered all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean

GRANDES ÉCURIES, CHANTILLY

Built by the Grand Condè in the seventeenth century and thoroughly restored by Viollet-le-Duc, these are the most imposing stables of France. Chantilly was held for four days by the Germans in 1914, and was the farthest point reached by them in their advance on Paris. Here the first German plane was downed in September. Later Chantilly was the headquarters for the Chief-of-staff of the Allied Armies. It is a renowned racing center, the Newcastle of France, and the course is adjacent to the stables.

THE PLACE VENDOME

This square, in the heart of Paris, is typical in a high degree of the architecture of the city. In its center rises the famous Vendome column, built by Napoleon to commemorate his Russian victories of 1805. The bronze plates which reproduce scenes of the Russian campaign, form a spiral reaching practically to the top of the monument. They were made by melting down twelve hundred captured Russian cannon.

and broken them to her harness? Would Christianity have found otherwise such a system of canals already prepared, through which its regenerating waves could have poured so easily? But since Europe has become Christianized, none of the people who compose it can any longer claim to represent a civilization morally superior to its neighbors and which gives a right to dominate others because of the benefits it can impose on them.

I have referred to the Invasion of Otto IV, which was stopped on the battlefield of Bouvines. In order to understand the spirit of this attack and of our resistance, it is necessary to appreciate the position of the German Emperor of 1214 and—facing him—the King of France. We will find them again face to face four centuries later, calling themselves no longer Otto and Philippe-Auguste, but Charles-Quint and François Premier. In the sixteenth century as in the thirteenth, what is the ambition of the Caesar from across the Rhine? It is to reestablish the Roman Empire, under a Germanic form. And what is the object of the King of France? It is to prevent the reconstitution of this Empire. Over against the type of the dominating and organizing Empire, there is now opposed a new type of State—the Kingdom. France was the first successful and the most complete example of this type of state in Europe. Her geographical position predisposed her to this type; her natural frontiers pressed her into a very clear form. Follow these frontiers on the map: The English Channel, the Atlantic Ocean, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean Sea, the Alps, the Rhine, mark out for her a territory of moderate size.

The mixed composition of her population, to which I have already referred, excludes such dreams of immense racial masses as are suggested by the words "Pan-Slavism" or "Pan-German." In fact our annals could be summed up as an uninterrupted effort to fill up the form established by our natural frontiers and to oppose the development, at our side, of a voracious state. According to this tradition, France has contributed, more than any other nation, to the conception of European equilibrium—a balance of power—of which the events of recent years have shown the value. One time she failed in this mission, as I have indicated, led astray by Napoleon. In the admirable picture which our historian Taine has drawn of the First Emperor, he has shown to what an extent this great man—of entirely Italian origin was alien to the French tradition.

To this true national tradition, France has returned in smashing this most recent attempt of the last Hohenzollern to carry on the imperialistic adventure at which the Ottos, the Hohenstaufen and the Hapsburg, turn by turn, tried and failed. What France desires passionately, resolutely, is that such an attempt shall not be made again—beyond this she desires nothing. The ruses and tricks employed by the successors of "the defeated conqueror" to avoid repairing the ruins, which, as invaders, they systematically multiplied; the frank sentiments of hate and revenge, which are manifested across the Rhine, the demonstrations such as that given to Hindenburg at Munich; the Treaty, made public at Genoa, between the Russian Soviets and Germany, all bear witness that the peace concluded at Versailles has for our century-old enemies no more value than a truce. Can anyone blame France—having just made a sacrifice of a million and a half lives to the Moloch of German pride—for the determination to be strong and prepared for the supreme conflict, if that conflict must come?

Where Goes the World?

An Editorial Outlook

BLACK SHIRT AND RED FLAG

WHEN we read of Mussolini's first appearance as Premier before the Italian Deputies and the cutting scorn with which he told them that, if he had wanted to, he could have turned the House of Parliament into barracks for his revolutionary followers and that whether they continued their sessions "two days or two years" depended on his pleasure, we can not help recalling that momentous day in 1917, when Lenin closed the Constituent Assembly of Russia, with the curt comment that they had talked too much.

There is, however, one fact that completely differentiates the two occasions. Almost without exception the foreigners, who were in Petrograd when Lenin established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, reported that it was the *coup d'etat* of a small, but well armed, minority. In fact, in those days Lenin never even claimed to represent the majority of the Russian nation. But almost every foreign observer in Rome reports that the great mass of the Italians heartily approve this new Dictatorship. Some, but very few, voices are raised in opposition. In fact, the reported unanimity of factory workers, peasants, business men and the cultivated classes of Italy is truly surprising. Mussolini, unlike Lenin, has risen to supreme power, not as the leader of an aggressive minority, but as a popular —democratic—chieftain.

THE CHALLENGE TO PARLIAMENTS

ALL over the world there is growing dissatisfaction with parliamentary institutions. As a method of registering and executing the popular will, they have worked best in the Anglo-Saxon countries where they originated. On the Continent of Europe, they have never given as much satisfaction and primarily because of the "group system" of politics. In France, for instance, the Chamber of Deputies is not divided into two great parties, alternating in power, but into a score or more of little groups. A Premier, in order to control a majority in the Cham-

ber, must form a *bloc* of half a dozen different groups. He secures their support by promising their leaders places in his Ministry and pledging himself to push their special legislative programs. So a Premier can not begin to do anything constructive, until he has found a graceful way to get out from under all the conflicting promises he has had to make to secure his majority. Briand was once described as unusually clever at making what looked like a fine motor car out of spare parts and scraps of wreckage. The trouble was that while it looked like a motor car, it would not go.

Day after day, in the Parliaments of Europe, there is a tremendous amount of passionate oratory, but the object of most of it is to upset the Ministry, not to get any constructive work done for the Nation. Most previous Ministries, Mussolini said, had been like the passengers in a stage coach, while the Members of Parliament, like highwaymen, sniped at them from ambush. The Ministries were afraid of Parliament and nothing got accomplished. So all sorts of people have become disillusioned. The things people vote for do not get done.

The Parliamentary system in Italy had proved itself somewhat more impotent than elsewhere and so this movement, called "Fascismo," has grown. The Italian people want less oratory and more achievement. Mussolini has inspired confidence that he and his methods of "direct action" will succeed where the Parliament has failed.

Because a thing never has succeeded does not prove that it never can. Dictatorships have not worked out satisfactorily in the past. Caesar tried it and the end of the Roman Empire was more miserable than its beginning was glorious. Cromwell tried it. When the English Parliament would not execute his will, he sent it home and ruled without it. But, on his death, the English people, disgusted with his dictatorship, reestablished their parliamentary system more firmly than ever. Napoleon tried it. Lenin is trying it. Will Mussolini succeed? At least most Italians seem to think the experiment is worth trying.

Dictated—but not Red!

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CONGRESS?

WE are not very content with our own parliamentary machine. There is very little comfort to be got from the last election. One Cabinet Member is reported to have said: "It is not a victory for the Democrats, but a defeat for us. The vote did not indicate that the people wanted the Democrats, but that they were impatient with us, Republicans." In the papers we read of "wets" and "drys," those for the bonus and those against it, Pro-Leaguers and Isolationists, all claiming that the election endorsed their principles. The one thing certain is that there was no clear issue. We went to a good deal of trouble and expense over these elections and did not decide anything. It did not clarify the national opinion on Prohibition, Ship Subsidy, our relations in Europe, nor any major problem. A few politicians lost their jobs, a few others were elevated to public office. The people, who went to the polls hoping that the fulfillment of this civic duty would settle any important question, have nothing but discouragement for their pains.

Unless our political leaders can devise some means to give the elections real significance, some way of clarifying the issues before the electorate, instead of trying to get themselves elected by confusing the issues, unless Congress interests itself in discovering the popular will and trying to achieve the popular purpose, unless something is done to stop the continued degradation of political life and the growing disillusionment with politics, the cry for a Dictator will be heard in America.

THE NORWEGIAN ARBITRATION

ALL those who advocate the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, instead of War, were discouraged by the news—and the more recent lack of news—about the award of the Hague Tribunal in the case of the Norwegian Claims against this Government. The controversy arose over the requisition by our Shipping Board in 1917 of ships, which were building on the account of foreigners in our shipyards. There were a large number of such claims and most of them were settled without serious dispute. But in one group of claims, presented by certain Norwegian shipping companies, it was impossible to reach an agreement. The Shipping Board offered to settle for about $3,000,000 and the Norwegians claimed about $18,000,000. The matter dragged on under dispute, until early in this Administration the Department of State negotiated a Treaty with Norway to submit the case to arbitration at the Hague. The Norwegian

Government appointed one Arbitrator, we another, and the Umpire was appointed by the President of the Swiss Federation. The Briefs and Replies and Rebuttals and the printed evidence fill a half-dozen volumes and oral testimony and argument was also presented. On the 11th of October, by a vote of two to one, the Court handed down an award against us of about $12,000,000. The American representative, having been out-voted, bolted. He refused to be present in the Court when the award was read.

The reasons which led our Representative to this most unusual method of protest have not been disclosed. For two months the Department of State neither supported nor over-ruled the protest. The only information which could be obtained was that "the matter is under consideration." The whole affair was covered with a blanket of silence—as far as this country was concerned. Abroad, on the contrary, it was being commented on in the press with great vehemence. It was not very pleasant to read even unjust criticism of our country. It was most unfortunate that so good an opportunity was given to those who mistrust us to question our good faith.

It was impossible for anyone believing in the integrity of our Government to doubt that, sooner or later, Mr Hughes would recommend the payment of this award. We could not honestly agree to the arbitration of a disputed claim without realizing in advance that the award might go against us. The recent statement of the President that the Administration would abide by the award was reassuring proof of good faith.

If we are not willing to accept court findings, we should refuse to arbitrate in the first place, stop urging others to accept arbitration, and polish up our weapons. Unless we want to reduce all our arbitration treaties to scraps of paper, we must be punctilious in meeting any awards that may go against us. This country is too thoroughly committed to the principle of arbitration to overthrow the whole structure. We can only regret that for so long a time we allowed it to appear that we favor Arbitration only when it favors us.

THE ADMINISTRATION TURNS TO EUROPE

EVERYBODY at Washington—the Administration forces and the Opposition—have been seriously worried about the recent news from Europe and have earnestly been seeking for some practical way to stem the current of economic decay. Not since the Arms Conference has the attention of Government circles been so closely focused on Foreign Affairs. Those, whose official position or friendship gave them access to "inside information," have been hinting that something was afoot —"feelers," "conversations," "negotiations." It was all mysteriously vague and various "spokesmen of the Administration" deprecated

the circulation of rumors and the undue curiosity of the newspaper men, until Senator Borah smoked out the Administration, forcing them into the open, by his Resolution advising and urging the President to summon a Conference in Washington to discuss the economic condition of the world.

The President, in his letter to Senator Lodge of December 27, made it very clear that he and his advisers had nothing so ambitious in mind. The President knows that all the European nations—rightly or wrongly—insist that the quick and simple way to cure the economic ills of the world, is for us to cancel the War Debts, and Congress in creating the Debt Funding Commission explicitly forbids any discussion of this subject. On this point the President read Congress a lesson as sharp as it was apt. "If Congress really means to facilitate the task of the Government in dealing with the European situation, the first practical step would be to free the hands of the commission so that helpful negotiations may be undertaken." This is a point on which OUR WORLD very heartily agrees with the President. Quite aside from the question of "Cancellation," whether we are to have an Economic Conference or not, the Funding Commission should be given some freedom to negotiate.

In his speech at New Haven, a few days later, the Secretary of State went much further than the President to clear up the mysterious rumors. He told what the Administration was planning to do. There are two stages to the proposal. First: wait and see; second, if the Allies failed to settle the amount of German reparations, we suggest that in view of the acknowledged failure of the "politicians," the matter be taken out of their hands and referred to a commission of business men, who, not being worried about what the voters may think, will study the situation and make an unbiased report on what sum the Germans should be required to pay and how the sum is to be raised. It is suggested that Public Opinion in all lands will rally to the findings of this commission of business men and compel their political leaders to accept them.

There is only one new element in this proposal—American participation. Of course the subject has been studied by the business men of all countries—former belligerents and neutrals—ever since the Armistice, and repeated appeals have been made to public opinion to ignore all the other interests involved in Reparations and settle it on book-keeping basis.

The most striking line in Mr. Hughes' speech is his statement that these problems can not be dismissed by simply calling them "European." It is comforting to know by the authoritative voice of the Secretary of State that the Administration has shifted its ground, since his Campaign Speech in Boston, and now admits, that the major problems of Europe are world problems, by which America is affected and, to which America can not afford to be indifferent.

THE REPARATION TANGLE

HOW much should Germany pay to her Victors? Everyone —at home and abroad—agrees with the President and Mr. Hughes that uncertainty in this matter is the greatest impediment in the way of economic restoration in Europe. Now, whether we are to discuss this problem in open conference or refer it to the judgment of business men, there is one fact that should not be forgot. The Reparations Problem is acute today—desperately acute—because our Associates in the War, during the Peace Conference, rejected the advice of the American Delegation.

A document, published on page 344 of the third volume of Ray Stannard Baker's "Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement" throws a blaze of light on this subject. When the Treaty of Versailles was almost ready for signature, Lloyd George began to worry over the chance that some of the American criticisms might be sound and Mr. Keynes, an economist attached to the British Delegation, proposed what was called an "International Loan," whereby America was to furnish Germany credit to replace the working capital that England and France were planning to take from her. We have space here for only a few lines from Mr. Wilson's letter to Lloyd George in reply to this proposal.

"Throughout the reparation discussion the American delegation has steadily pointed out to the other delegations that the plans proposed would surely deprive Germany of the means of making any appreciable reparation payments. I myself, as you know, have frequently made the same observation. But whenever any of us was urgent on this point, he was accused of being Pro-German. Our delegation finally gave assent to the reparation clauses as drawn, only because the reparation problem was one that chiefly concerned France, Great Britain, Belgium and the other European countries, and not America." And later in the same letter: "How can anyone expect America to turn over to Germany in any considerable measure new working capital to take the place of that which the European nations have determined to take from her?"

The chapters in Mr. Baker's book on the economic aspects of the Peace Treaty, and Mr. Baruch's book on the same subject, will interest anyone who wishes to understand the background of the Reparation tangle.

The "I-told-you-so" attitude does not set anything right, which of course is what we want to accomplish. But the fulfillment of all the prophecies made by us at Paris inevitably strengthens our conviction that our estimate of the situation was correct. We must insist today, just as we did under the Wilson Administration, that the reparation charge against Germany be fixed at a figure which will appeal to reasonable men as within her capacity to pay. With the all victorious

nations of the Entente, all of whom have gained notable accessions of territory, finding it difficult to pay the eleven billions they owe us, it is absurd for them to pretend to expect Germany, having lost all her overseas possessions, her mercantile marine, and industrially important sections of her territory, to pay three times as much.

To anyone who is inclined to put all the blame for the present tangle over Reparations on the French, we again recommend the economic chapters of Mr. Baker's book. The first suggestion of an impossibly large indemnity came from Lloyd George. The first sentence, under the heading "The Economic Policy of Great Britain," on page 277, vol. II., reads: "Just as the political settlements at Paris were marked by struggles between the Old and the New Diplomacy, so there was an Old and a New Diplomacy in the economic settlements." Of Lloyd George, he writes a few pages later: "He was by instinct a politician of the old school... and his promise of huge indemnities, made in his political campaign of December, 1918, was one of the chief obstacles to a reasonable consideration of the economic settlements at Paris." Lord Cunliffe had stated that Germany could pay a hundred billion dollars—ten times the sum estimated by Mr. Keynes and the American financial advisers. In the heat of his effort to win the elections, Lloyd George boosted this extravagant figure to 120 billions. In the meeting of the Four on June 9, Lloyd George very frankly explained the embarrassing situation in which he had placed himself by his reckless campaign promises. He said, according to the minutes of the meeting that "any figure that would not frighten them (the Germans) would be below the figure with which he or M. Clemenceau could face their peoples."

A very large part of the present trouble is due to the shabby trick resorted to by Lloyd George, of forcing the Germans to sign a blank check and "frightening" them after they had signed.

It is hard to see how any new investigation of the problem, even by business men, who have no interest in the political problems of

The Shell Game with the P that stands for Policy

their countries, can help much towards the solution of this problem. The problem is—and most of its difficulty—fundamentally political.

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION

IT is strange to find such outspoken opponents of Socialism as the President and his Cabinet so intent on finding an economic interpretation of the world's woes. Very few European statesmen, outside of Soviet Russia, use so strict a materialistic phraseology. It sounds like a page out of the works of Karl Marx to hear the spokesmen of the Administration insist that, while it is proper for us to bear a hand in the economic affairs of Europe, we must not contaminate ourselves by showing any interest in political questions.

But to try to "isolate" the economic aspects of such a problem as Reparations from its political implications is as hopeless as it was for Austria to try to "localize" her fight with Serbia. We do not ourselves discuss such problems as Military Appropriations or Farm Credits solely on their economic merits. No one, who gives any consideration to the vote-getting value of such proposals, has any right to get peevish when Europeans allow political motives to complicate economic questions.

In no other problem now before the world is the supremacy of political over economic considerations more apparent than in this matter of Reparations. The relations between France and Germany are more complicated than a book-keeping quarrel over the amount of a debt. Besides and above all questions of profit and loss are the obscure emotions of hatred and fear and suspicion—they can not be quieted by a financial deal.

But the President and his advisers feel that they must limit their activity in accordance with the Marxian Dogma and refuse to discuss anything but the economic side of the question. To allow themselves to discuss political problems would seem to them a relapse to that "Wilsonism," which they maintain the people—by electing them to office—have repudiated.

Until the Administration musters up courage to face these problems in their entirety, and not just one side of them—even if a few Irreconcilables accuse them of "Wilsonism," they are in a blind alley.

Today's Globe in the Schoolroom

What the Millions of Children in the Elementary Schools of This Country and Other Countries Are Being Taught About Our International Relations Is Vitally Significant for the Future

By Wallace W. Atwood

President of Clark University

NO important permanent changes in our civilization will take place until multitudes of men come to believe in those changes. That may not be a direct quotation but the thought is somewhere expressed in one of the addresses or essays of Dr. Charles W. Eliot. We realize as American people that we are awakening to a fuller appreciation of our interests and responsibilities in the affairs of the world. This new period in our national life may come, in time, to be known as the "international era."

For many decades it has been clear that the world was an economic unit; now we see that political, social and educational interests throughout the entire world have fully as much in common.

New bonds of friendship and association are constantly being established between the adult populations in the world. This is reflected in many of the recent publications. New magazines have appeared with the purpose of furnishing "up-to-the-minute" information about distant lands. Scores of books have come from the press during the last year dealing with international problems. Various governments are issuing documents that are full of statistical data, foreign treaties and reports of conferences. The bibliography which appeared in the September issue of "*Foreign Affairs*" contains the following significant group headings: General International Affairs; Foreign Relations of the United States; Arbitration; Balkan Wars; Greco-Turkish Hostilities; International Business; International Transit; Reparations; the Geneva Conference; and the Washington Conference.

The atmosphere that surrounds the minds of thinking people, that envelops those who have taken large re-

The winning essay of the American School Citizenship League, World Essay Contest 1921-22, will appear in the March issue of OUR WORLD.

The American School Citizenship League, of which Chief Justice William Howard Taft is honorary president, holds an annual essay contest with a view to spreading knowledge of the world among students in Normal Schools, and among senior classes in the Secondary Schools. The awards are known as the Seabury Prizes, and were offered for the best essay on: (1.) The Function of Education in the Promotion of International Understanding! (2.) The Essential Foundations of a Co-operating World.

The successful contestants for 1921-22 were:

Secondary Schools. **First Prize—Miss Helen R. Hoopes, High School, West Chester, Pa.; Second Prize—Miss Irma Lutz, Barringer High School, Newark, New Jersey; Third Prize—Erich Eule, Arndt-Gymnasiums, Berlin, Germany.**

Normal Schools. **First Prize—Leroy Washington Wyatt, State Normal College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Second Prize—Miss Cornelia A. Wilson, State Normal School, Towson, Maryland; Third Prize—G. P. Kerr, Cambridge University Training College, Cambridge, England.**

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A VENETIAN SCHOOLBOY

Ready, but not anxious

sponsibilities in the affairs of nations, is permeated with world problems. Several great American Foundations have been established with the purpose of carrying the spirit of good will and generosity throughout the world. There is a Council on Foreign Relations; a National Foreign Trade Council; various relief organizations that do not recognize political boundaries; the League of Nations; the National Economic League; the World Peace Foundation and many others. The programs of public meetings reflect this same broadening of the sympathies of the adult American people.

Among educators we see the founding of the Institute of International Education; the expansion of the custom of exchanging professors and students; foreign fellowships and traveling fellowships becoming more common; cosmopolitan clubs organizing in most of the Colleges and Universities; the completion of the important Educational Survey of Africa by Dr. Jesse Jones; departments of History and International Relations being established in certain Universities.

The absolute necessity of a fuller knowledge of Geography was forced upon us during the World War. Many of the departments in Washington were surprised by the calls for geographical data and they sent appeals immediately to the larger Universities in this country and to the Geographical Societies for help. In the War Department, a staff of geographers was engaged, and the State Department employed and continues now to employ, expert geographers upon its staff. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has borrowed from the University world expert geographers, holding some of them in Washington, and sending others as commercial attachés to foreign countries. Many of the large financial houses have undertaken to give courses of training to their young men in commercial and economic geography. The School of Foreign Service at Georgetown finds it absolutely essential to require special training in geography of all candidates. The larger industrial houses, interested in foreign trade, have long recognized how inadequately American people have been trained in geography, and those connected with such enterprises were among the first to train them-

selves in a fuller knowledge of geography. The educational institutions are responding, as it were, to the demands that come with this awakening in the various phases of American life for a fuller knowledge of the living conditions throughout the world, by establishing or expanding departments of geography.

We must remember that multitudes of people in this and other countries must come to have an international point of view. They must, through education, come to have an intelligent sympathy with the problems with which the different peoples of the world are struggling.

We therefore are really facing a very large educational problem. Why should we not attack it directly and at the very foundation of our educational system? What can be accomplished in changing the attitudes or point of view of multitudes of adults will, in the end, be insignificant in comparison with what can be accomplished in this same work with children. Probably the old prejudices in some of the present adult populations will be the greatest hindrance or obstacle in bringing up the younger generation with the broader, world point of view. Fortunately those prejudices are not so strong or so numerous in America as they are in certain of the older countries. The unfortunate history of many of the foreign nations has developed hatreds that may be passed on through several generations. Our hope should be that such sentiments will become milder and milder until they are completely under the control of the individuals who possess them.

There are about twenty million children now in the elementary public schools of this country. There, in those schools, is the place to begin work. The foundations must be well laid. Year after year with teachers with the right point of view, with the attitude of kindness and fair-play permeating every lesson, every public exercise, in the play ground and in the class room, a wonderful result can be accomplished.

For three centuries we have passed down through the instruction in our homes and in the public schools a loyalty and affection for our various American institutions. As a people we are deeply indebted to the teachers in our public schools for cultivating and developing from lesson to lesson,

© Photograph by Hine

A PENNSYLVANIA SCHOLAR

Snapped after school. His father is a Slav

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A little Holland schoolgirl

from month to month and year to year an understanding of and belief in those institutions that have provided the people of the United States with freedom and with opportunities. They have preserved through all these years in the American children a respect for law and order and for property rights of individuals. To them we may confidently look to counteract the influence of the insidious teachings of false economic doctrines and un-American ideals that come across the sea and attempt to invade our land.

This great force of educators, fully eight hundred thousand strong, can be appealed to and in the end their work will be of the greatest service. The principle of fair-play, the idea of a square-deal, the virtue in arbitration, the folly and expense of war, the need of foreign commerce, the economic unity of the world, and many other ideas that some adults are trying to understand can be taught to a child before he is through the elementary school. His later study or his life work in business or in a profession will be deeply influenced by just what is taught to him in those early years. That is the place to fix the point of view, the attitude of the individual.

We have seen our school curriculum, during the last two decades, greatly enriched by the introduction of nature-study, of hand work and vocational instruction. The actual teaching has been greatly improved by new methods of instruction.

Now may we not look forward to a great new movement in which America may take the lead and set an example in developing in our elementary school course of study the lessons that will inculcate in the present younger generation and all coming generations a

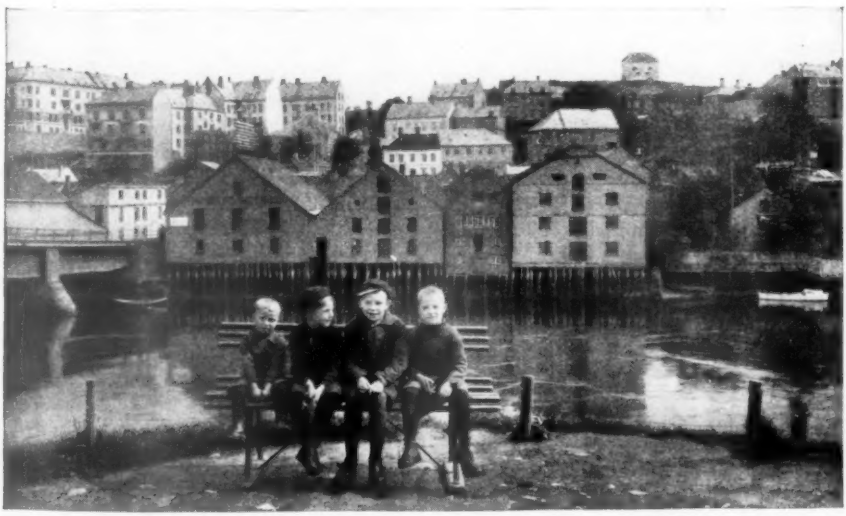
national and international point of view? May we not develop in the American people an intelligent sympathy for the distinctly human, often simple but larger problems that the peoples of the world are called upon to face?

May we not hope that similar movements will be started in other countries? We should exchange our courses of study with those used in foreign lands and mutually correct any mis-statements. Perhaps we may begin a work and educate a little multitude that will carry on this work and train greater multitudes until the task is accomplished.

We may think back over the records of eons of time during which there have been slow physical and biologic evolutions in the history of this earth. May we not look forward to long eras of social and political evolution and gain inspiration in the hope that we may make some small contribution to this progress?

The announcement that the National Educational Association, under the able leadership of its President, Dr. William B. Owen, will hold a Conference to consider what is now being taught to children in reference to our international relations is most interesting and significant.

This is the first of a series of articles which will appear from time to time in this magazine under the editorship of Dr. Wallace W. Atwood, Director of the Institute of International Information, on "What Is Being Taught in the World About the World." Dr. Atwood, personally, has been gathering data in Europe for this notable series.



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Four Norwegian lads at recess

Hardships of the Helpful

Walter J. Woof Finds Certain Persons of Importance in Present-Day Washington Politics Getting Down to an Historically Familiar 1917 State of Mind

By Elmer Davis

"HISTORY repeats itself," said my friend Walter J. Woof, the well-known Washington correspondent.

"I know it," I told him. "Every six months you come to New York to ask your managing editor for a raise, and you always go back to Washington on the same old salary. Why come here to tell me a familiar story, when we live in such stirring times?"

"Because history repeats itself. The times have been stirring for some years past, but somehow they don't jell."

I protested against this flippancy.

"It seems to me," I said, "that it is of cardinal importance that the Harding administration is getting back into Europe. That is . . . if it is. We've heard so often that it was going to get back into Europe, and then it didn't. But as I interpret the Washington dispatches—"

"There you go, interpreting the Washington dispatches."

"But they're apt to be vague and misty—"

"Official Washington is a vague and misty place," said Woof. "I go to see A High Official. I listen to him for half an hour. I get a faint impression that he is trying to tell me something, but what it is I don't know, and he's afraid to say. The message doesn't quite pierce the veil. I go back to my office and write an accurate report of this phenomenon, and you complain that my dispatches are vague and misty. So you interpret the dispatch according to your hopes or fears; and then if the interpretation is wrong, you say that you can't believe anything you see in the papers with a Washington date line.

"Well, for a couple of years now we've seen Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes standing with reluctant feet where the brook and river meet. You and I hope and believe that at last they've discovered that the brook has run dry, and that whether they like it or not they've got to float down the river; and we wonder why they didn't see it sooner. Well, as I say, history repeats itself."

"I really don't quite see it," I observed.

"Being an unreconstructed Democrat, maybe you wouldn't. But I ask you, who invented normalcy?"

"Simon Peter," I suggested. "When the excitement of the Crucifixion was over, Peter went fishing."

"But even Peter had to snap out of normalcy in course of time," said Woof, "and once snapped, he stayed snapped. However, I wasn't going quite so far back. Normalcy, for our generation, was invented by a gentleman who told us in August, 1914, that we ought to be neutral in our thoughts as well as in our actions, and who told us in May, 1916, when the war had been going on nearly two years, that with its causes and its objects we were not concerned. Up till the winter of 1916-17 Woodrow Wilson was about the most normalcitous person in the world; and Warren G. Harding might long ago have profited by his example."

"But Mr. Harding *is* profiting by his example," I objected with emphasis.

"Perhaps; but a little bit late. A little bit late. Mr. Wilson tried to keep out of Europe. So did Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes. All of those great statesmen, however, had the same misconception. They thought they could hang their clothes on a hickory limb and not go near the water. But they couldn't stay out. They found eventually, that it was colder out on shore. They got in mighty slowly, all three of 'em. They let the cold waves lap around their toes while they stood and shivered. They were as chilly and reluctant as September Morn. But finally Mr. Wilson had to plunge in over his head, and he got just as wet as if he'd taken a running jump and dived in while he was still warm. And it's a curious fact that the water gets colder the longer you stay out.

"And if you want the key to what seems to be Mr. Harding's determination to jump in at last, I refer you to Colonel George Harvey. Yes, I know he has a whole pocketful of keys, most of which won't fit any known lock. But this time he said it. Remember back in the early winter, just before the allied premiers got together for the forty-second or fifty-ninth called meeting on the question of reparations? Colonel George Harvey lifted up his voice, just before that conference, and said that America might not be able to influence the decisions reached there, but that maybe America wouldn't tolerate those decisions.

"And anybody who had followed the career of Woodrow Wilson as closely as George Harvey ought to have realized that that gave the show away. Go back six years—back to January 22, 1917. On that day, as you may remember, President Wilson came down to the Senate to deliver himself of some thoughts on peace. Up to that time, America wasn't in the war. Mr. Wilson had done his best to keep us out of the war, out of Europe. We weren't in Europe, except

"If he'd taken a running jump . . ."

for the Lafayette Escadrille, and some men in the Foreign Legion, and a lot of people in the Canadian army, and some ambulance drivers, and some thousands of relief workers, and about fifty million people who were making a living by supplying Europe. With those exceptions, we had nothing to do with Europe at all; and you will see, if you run over the list, that in fact we were about as deep in Europe in January, 1917, as we are now.

Making Rules for Peace

"BUT not officially. Europe was talking about peace. Mr. Wilson had talked peace. A lot of people thought that before long there would be a peace conference. Not having been in the war, we wouldn't be in the peace conference; but what Mr. Wilson went down to tell the Senate on January 22, 1917, was that while we might not influence the decisions that this hypothetical peace conference was going to make, we might not be able to tolerate them. Only, being a little longer-sighted than Colonel Harvey, Mr. Wilson thought the simplest way to make sure of getting the right conditions was to lay down in advance the sort of conditions we—or he, rather—would tolerate.

"It happened that he summed up those conditions in his happy little phrase, peace without victory, which is all that most people remember of that speech. But the point is that on that day Mr. Wilson set forth some things that he wouldn't tolerate; and when the German General Staff presently showed its intention of becoming intolerable, Mr. Wilson had to do something about it. So when the reparations conferences come to intolerable conclusions—"

"But that," I objected, "has been going on for a long time."

"A lot of intolerable things had happened before January, 1917," said Woof. "But not till then did the President say there were things he wouldn't tolerate. Then he had to make good. Mr. Harding said a few weeks ago that he was going to be cautious but active. That was what Wilson tried to be, in the spring of 1917. But as things turned out he had to keep on getting less cautious and more active; until we reached the high water mark of two million American soldiers in France, and two hundred thousand delegates, experts, statisticians and press agents at the peace conference. That was quite an involvement, and I don't wonder it makes Mr. Harding shiver.

American Rights Then and Now

"WELL, at the beginning of April, 1917, Senator Warren G. Harding got up to announce that he was going to vote for a declaration of war. But he wanted to tell the Senate that he wasn't voting for war in order to make the world safe for democracy, as had been recommended in an eloquent speech which the Senate had just heard. He was voting for it for 'the maintenance of just American rights—in effect, because he was sick and tired of the way the Germans had been treating us, and he thought something ought to be done about it. On that solemn occasion Mr. Harding felt that the maintenance of just American rights called for some effort. Lately he has found that the maintenance of just American rights still calls for effort. So he sent a delegation to Lausanne."

"Lausanne!" I interjected. "If you think that was a great diplomatic triumph—"

"I think," said Woof, "that it was a great diplomatic education. To be sure, it merely taught the Republicans the lesson that the Democrats had learned seven or eight years earlier; but the Democrats being all out of

office, what they had learned didn't count for much. It was announced that we were sending some observers to Lausanne, though without any commitments or involvements or entanglements. All we wanted was to be helpful—helpful to everybody.

Pleasing Everybody

"NOW you may recall that we had tried being helpful to everybody back in 1914, and it didn't work out any too happily. Officially, we were everybody's friend. We wouldn't intrude our mediation on Europe, but it was there whenever Europe felt like asking for it. What happened? The King of the Belgians promptly sent a delegation over to tell us what the Germans had been doing in Belgium, and the Kaiser countered with a long telegram about the things the General Staff had told him the Belgians had done to the Germans. Mr. Wilson made a nice little speech to the Belgians, saying that all this could be looked into after the war was over, and then sent a carbon copy to the Kaiser. And curiously enough, the answer didn't suit either side. Yet Mr. Wilson had only tried to be helpful.

"Well, a great many private citizens thought they could be helpful by doing business with England and France. In the course of time, the Germans interfered considerably with that. Some other citizens thought they could be helpful by doing business with Germany. The English interfered considerably with that. So Mr. Wilson had to start writing notes to the British and the Germans, which made him good and obnoxious to both sides, as well as to most of his constituents. And with that example before him, Mr. Hughes sent a delegation to Lausanne with orders to be helpful to everybody, Greeks, Turks, English, and Russians; at the same time standing up for our rights."

"What should we have done at Lausanne?" I demanded. "We stood for morality and our rights—"

"I don't say what we should have done at Lausanne. But here's what we might have done. We might have regarded the behavior of the Turks as a moral issue; just as in 1914 we might have regarded the behavior of the Germans as a moral issue. Or, at Lausanne, we might have passed over moral issues and gone out for what we could get. That would have meant lining up with the Turks—and the Russians—for they might have held together if we had been there to hold them—and grabbing the oil. It wouldn't have been moral, but it would have been profitable; just as in 1914 it would have been immoral, but profitable, to take the opportunity to rake in the British and French West Indies, for example. Instead of which we went to Lausanne with the idea of defending morality and getting our percentage at the same time; and when we found obstacles it was another proof that European diplomacy was wicked.

A Sermon from an Old Text

"YES. We were going to be helpful. And our idea of being helpful was to start out with Mr. Richard Washburn Child's doctrinal sermon on the open door. Mr. Wilson started the same way, with his notes about the rights of neutrals and the freedom of the seas. It doesn't seem to occur to any of our statesmen that Europe has heard all these doctrines before. And while we were being helpful by repeating some old stuff, the Greeks and Armenians were being killed off, just as they were in 1915 . . ."

"But our delegates at Lausanne protested against the treatment of the Christian minorities," I interposed indignantly.

"But the consequence was that this protest in the name of humanity was a good deal like Mr. Wilson's protests in the name of humanity. It annoyed the Turks without doing much good to the Christians; just as what Wilson said about the Belgian deportations annoyed the Germans without helping the Belgians.

"And Wilson's record was there for Mr. Hughes to read. Moreover, Mr. Hughes used to teach Sunday School; and he knows that even if by hard work you can manage to serve God and Mammon, you can't make both God and Mammon serve you very long, no matter how helpful you try to be.

"Well, up to that point our procedure at Lausanne had been very Wilsonian. By helpfully insisting on morality and our rights we'd got in wrong with everybody. Then they began talking about the freedom of the Straits. The question was whether or not warships should be allowed to pass into the Black Sea. The English wanted them let in; the Russians wanted them left out. You and I may not see that it was of any great importance to the United States, either way. We didn't expect to fight anybody in the Black Sea. This question of the Straits was an old quarrel between England and Russia; let England and Russia wrangle it out.

"But Mr. Richard Washburn Child had his orders to be helpful; so he made some highly moral remarks on the freedom of the Black Sea. America was going to see that all the countries in that vicinity were free. When you read that speech, you expect every moment to find Mr. Child saying that we must make the world safe for democracy. 'We cannot,' he said, 'we cannot accept the position that the future of commerce on the Black Sea is the exclusive affair of the nations bordering on it.' Not a bit. Anybody's business is everybody's business. Why, if I were an unterrified Democrat like you, I'd think that little speech of Mr. Child's was one of Woodrow Wilson's peace conference addresses, that Mr. Hughes had found in the State Department archives.

"Of course, I merely think that Mr. Hughes is confronted by a condi-

"Playing solitaire"

tion and not a theory; in both cases the admission comes hard.

"For Mr. Child went on to say: 'We wish access to every free body of water in the world, and we will not be satisfied if our ships of war may not pursue their peaceful errands.' Do you happen to know anything about the peaceful errands of our ships of war in the Black Sea? Well, sometimes they have to rescue refugees or convoy relief cargoes; but their principal peaceful errand is the protection of the American tobacco establishments at Samsun. Samsun is the port of outlet for a country that grows the best cigarette tobacco in the world. American companies have an investment of several million dollars there; and we habitually keep a destroyer anchored off Samsun to protect that investment.

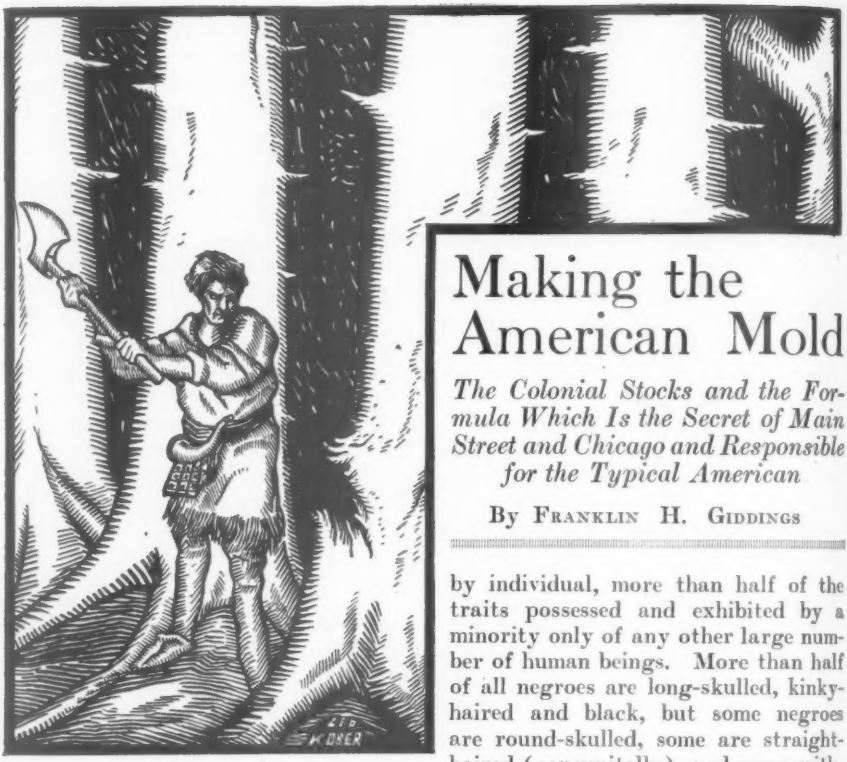
"That seems a rather poor test case for a moral issue," I observed.

"Maybe so," said Woof. "But take a moral issue which was somewhat similar—the question which arose at the end of January, 1917, as to whether our merchant ships should be allowed to pursue their peaceful errands. Even when the Germans declared their unrestricted submarine war, they allowed our merchant marine to pursue its peaceful errands under certain conditions. We could send one ship a week to an English port, provided it was all painted up like sunset over Los Angeles harbor so the submarine commanders could recognize it. Restrictions? Certainly, but in theory more than in practise. For we had such a puny merchant marine of our own, just then, that it could almost have kept within those limits and still made a living; and as for painting up, our ships wouldn't have been any more zebra-like than they were a few months later after they had been camouflaged against submarines.

"But, of course, that wasn't the point. The point was that this was too much. And Mr. Wilson, who had been doing his best to keep us out of involvements and entanglements, rose up and said that he wouldn't be satisfied unless such ships as we had could pursue their peaceful errands. We hadn't been able to influence the decisions of the Germans, but we served notice that we wouldn't tolerate them. And when we once got that far things began to happen. They kept on happening all the way to Sedan, via Chateau-Thierry and St. Mihiel; and eventually, we managed to make our intolerance effective.

History Repeats Every Four Years

"WELL, as I say, history repeats itself. Having run through practically all the states of mind which beset Mr. Wilson in 1914 and 1915, Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes seem to be getting down to the Wilsonism of 1917. And very likely they'll see eventually as he has probably seen by this time, that if you're going to have to do a thing, you would save a good deal of trouble by doing it in the first place. But it would be a relief, some time, to get an administration which goes out boldly and makes its own mistakes instead of repeating those of its predecessor. We have to educate our masters, of course; but it seems a waste of time to have to teach the same old lesson to a new lot every four years."



Making the American Mold

The Colonial Stocks and the Formula Which Is the Secret of Main Street and Chicago and Responsible for the Typical American

By Franklin H. Giddings

ONE hundred percent is a figure of speech, unless the units that you are counting from 1 to 100 are one hundred percent perfect, and one hundred percent alike, and this rarely happens outside of arithmetics, story books, and propaganda. You can speak of a litter of pups as one hundred percent complete if the pups are all there, but you can't talk about a one hundred per cent litter of pups if they happen to be mongrels. This first rule of statistical logic applies to our affirmations about races and peoples.

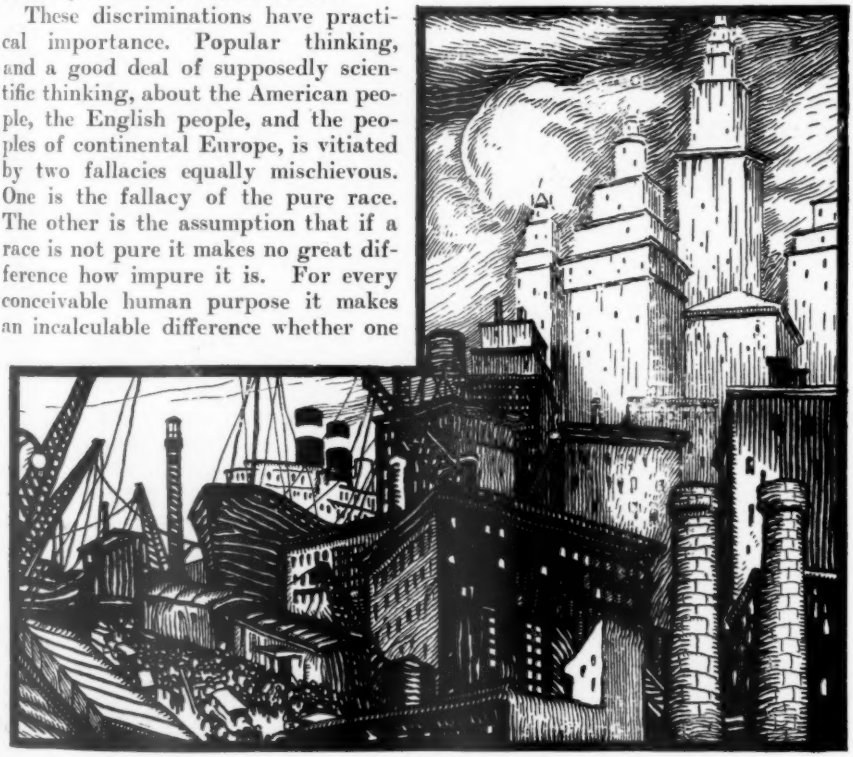
There are no unmixed peoples. There is possibly not a pure human race in existence. A race is a large number of human beings, a majority of whom possess and exhibit, individual by individual, more than half of the traits possessed and exhibited by a minority only of any other large number of human beings. More than half of all negroes are long-skulled, kinky-haired and black, but some negroes are round-skulled, some are straight-haired (congenitally), and some, without known admixture of white blood, are light. The so-called white race is more variable than any other. The cephalic index of whites is of exceptional range. Their hair may be straight, wavy, or curly. Now and then their complexions are darker than those of some negroes.

Even the so-called Nordic sub-race is by no means homogeneous. The Baltic Nordics, who have lived nobody knows how many thousands of years round about the Baltic Sea and gone forth from there to the ends of the earth, have been relatively, but never perfectly, a homogeneous stock. Long before modern migrations began they had mixed to a slight extent with ancient dark populations in Denmark, Scandinavia, Iceland, and the British

Franklin Henry Giddings, Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization at Columbia University, and for more than twenty years an associate editor of The Independent, is a New Englander by ancestry, birth and early associations. After ten years of varied experiences in journalism, Professor Giddings succeeded Woodrow Wilson in the Chair of Political Science at Bryn Mawr College. In 1894 he was called to Columbia. His ten volumes and more of published writings range from books on social and political theory through history and criticism to Pagan Poems. He is a member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and his sociological and political works have been translated into many languages, European and Asiatic.

Isles. In like manner, the so-called Anglo-Saxons are a subdivision of the Baltic stock composed of individuals of whom a majority, one by one, exhibit more than one-half of certain traits found in only a minority of the individuals of any other stock. It has been and is yet relatively pure in the eastern counties of England. In the west it is more mixed with old Pictish, Iberian, or Mediterranean blood.

These discriminations have practical importance. Popular thinking, and a good deal of supposedly scientific thinking, about the American people, the English people, and the peoples of continental Europe, is vitiated by two fallacies equally mischievous. One is the fallacy of the pure race. The other is the assumption that if a race is not pure it makes no great difference how impure it is. For every conceivable human purpose it makes an incalculable difference whether one or another stock in a mixed population is numerically greater and intellectually dominant. A majority in numbers constitutes "type" in a merely statistical meaning of the word. If with this there is also intellectual dominance, we have "type" in a qualitative and dynamic meaning of the word. It is a standard to which different elements tend to adjust them-



selves and, as the generations go by, to conform. It is the assimilative influence by which and to which they are assimilated. It is a control center and a creative power. It determines objectives. It speeds up or slows down activity. By approval and dispraise, by taboo and acclaim it qualifies culture. It shapes institutions. In a word, a stock greater in numbers and intellectually dominant makes a people what that people is.

Most Americans have held, as in their homes and schools they have been taught, that the colonial population assembled on our Atlantic seaboard before 1776, which then fought and won the War of Independence and later on adopted the Federal Constitution, was biologically the progenitor, and intellectually the culture-maker of an American stock numerically preponderant and intellectually dominant in our population up to now, and destined to continue to be so into a distant future: a stock into which later arrivals have been to some extent absorbed, and to which culturally they have been in a measure, and must be more and more, assimilated. That colonial population consisted almost wholly of various minor stocks of the Baltic strain—English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, Dutch, Huguenot, Palatinate German, and Scandinavian. It has been held that one of these minor stocks, the English, was numerically preponderant and intellectually dominant, and that it is so yet, if we take into account all of our native-born in which the English blood is coursing. The conclusion, therefore, has been that the main stuff of our people, the pattern of our social order, and the "type" of American life are, and will continue to be, characteristically Anglo-Saxon.

Dissent from these beliefs has found expression, from time to time, and of late with some insistence. When voiced by sceptics well informed, it has not challenged the fact that the American people came into existence by descent in part from a population constituted of the elements and in the way above described. It only asserts that those elements have been more nearly submerged, and that their influence has been more impaired than popular belief concedes; and it contends that we therefore do not really know what the present American type is, or whether in fact there is one: that we certainly do not know what it will be.

Prolonged consideration of this question has convinced me that the older and more generally held belief is substantially true. Without argument, and with no wish to impose my views, I will give, as simply and concretely as I can, my reasons for them.

Let me at once admit that the dilution of colonial blood has been great, and will go on, and that in a measure the intellectual influence, also, of the Baltic stock in America has been lessened. Let me admit also that before the Revolution the Anglo-Saxon type had already been considerably modified by contact (and now and then by conflict) with other elements, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, Huguenot, Swedish, German, and Jewish, all of which were capably represented. It had not then been much modified, as subsequently it was in the southwest, by Spanish influence, and along the Lakes by Catholic French influence.

To describe accurately and appraise justly these influences is difficult. The Dutch, like the English, were pertinacious traders, but not quite so venturesome. They were not so puritannical; they cared rather more for worldly pleasures than the folk of Massachusetts Bay approved, and (I say this with trepidation) they seem to have cared more for personal liberty, in distinction from group or sectarian self-determination, than the English did. I admit, however, that I first came to

this conclusion less from a study of documentary evidences than from personal observation and acquaintance in the years of my boyhood and youth, which were spent in that part of southwestern Massachusetts which had been claimed by both Massachusetts and New York, and therefore had been settled by both English and Dutch families. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that Holland had been tolerant towards religious and political dissenters when England had not been, and that it was in Holland that Robinson's company of Pilgrims had found shelter before they set forth upon their western adventure. Erasmus had made his contribution to intellectual emancipation before Francis Bacon and long before John Milton wrote, and Hugo Grotius had laid the foundations of international law and had based his theory of governmental responsibility on broad moral principles

Bringing their tribute to the great American, the typical representative of the old Colonial stocks, who summed up in his own personality the demand for union and liberty of the nation

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of the law of nature and of nations before Hobbes and Locke discoursed of sovereignty.

Huguenots Brought Leaders

THE Huguenots, relatively numerous at Charleston and elsewhere in the Carolinas, were an influential factor in the north also. In contact with the Dutch at Staten Island, New Amsterdam, and New Paltz, or with the English at New Rochelle or at Stratford, Connecticut, they were respected for their ability and character, chivalry and bravery, industry and technical skill. To them America has been indebted for some of its best leadership, and for many liberal ideals. It was to New Rochelle that Ann Hutchinson fled from Massachusetts intolerance.

The Scotch and Scotch-Irish (or Protestant Irish or Ulstermen, if you don't happen to like the term Scotch-Irish) were fearless pioneers, resolute and self-reliant. They made their way into Maine and New Hampshire and along the rivers westward, overspread Pennsylvania, and began to work southward into the valleys between and among the great mountain ranges, along with the English from Virginia and the Carolinas. Frontiersmen by instinct and habit, they were individualistic when not clannish, and clannish when not individualistic. They never took kindly to social or governmental restraints, but when there was risk to be faced or fighting to be done they could be counted on.

Contrasting with the Scotch in almost every important particular were the Palatinate Germans (Dunkers and Mennonites), the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch. They were pacifists and community dwellers, exceptionally good farmers, hard working, thrifty, religious, simple in their way of life, frowning upon fashion and display. There were minor German settlements in New Jersey, in New England, and as far south as Georgia. There were Welsh settlements in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, and minor groups elsewhere. The Swedes, luckless in attempting to get a foothold on Manhattan Island, drifted through the Delaware Valley, and became a highly important element in the populations first of New Jersey and subsequently of Delaware. To them and their descendants our country is under lasting obligation for scientific knowledge and technical skill applied to invention and to processes in the metallurgical industries. There were Catholic Irish in colonial America, and they were effective patriots in the Revolutionary War, but their great influence upon American life began after 1820. The Census Bureau has estimated that in 1790, when the first Federal Census was taken, there were 10,664 American Jews. The first arrivals were Sephardim, the finest representatives of their race, from Portugal by way of Brazil. They were made welcome at New Amsterdam. Subsequently Spanish Jews also came to Manhattan. Later on Jews from Holland settled in Rhode Island, and the southern colonies also made Jews welcome and secure. The loyalty and financial aid which these people contributed to the Revolutionary struggle are well known.

The America of To-day

EACH of these stocks helped to make America what America is today, and their bloods long since commingled. This indisputable fact is the ground on which those rest their contention who say that our origins were too diverse, and that from the beginning we have been too heterogeneous to permit us to attach importance to further admixture; who argue that assimilation and amalgamation go on so inevitably and work out, on the whole,

so well that we ought not in fear of race deterioration to reverse our traditional policy of welcome to all comers.

What those who take this view of matters fail to see or refuse to admit is that *having helped to make America is not the same thing as having helped to make the American*, viewed as a kind or type of human being.

If there is no such type, and Americans are only so many human beings of so many kinds, dwelling within certain territorial boundaries and subject to a common jurisdiction, there is no point in talking about "Americanism" and no sense in getting strenuous over "Americanization." As I promised, I shall not argue this question. There are people yet alive who believe that the earth is flat, and that the sun moves around its circumference day by day in a horizontal plane, but we don't argue with them. The American as a kind or type is on exhibition for all mankind to observe and to reckon with, and it is certain that not all of our immigrant stocks, colonial and later, have had equal share in making him.

Far from a Democrat

THE American is not devoid of idealism, but he is not primarily an idealist. He talks about liberty and self-determination, but he never hesitates to restrict liberty remorselessly in a social or national crisis, and he construes self-determination by the rule of reason. He is a republican, but far from being a democrat. He sincerely believes that Pilgrims and Puritans, Quakers and Baptists, came here to find "freedom to worship God," and he is glad that they did, but he is distrustful of more recent old world radicals and radicalisms. However, he understands that "the individual conscience" and "an untrammeled press" are good talking points.

What, then, is an American? The answer has always been obvious. The reason why we don't all of us proclaim it, instead of trying to find a different one, lies in the fact that, because of the way we have been brought up, and the things we have been taught, we don't quite like it. It doesn't sound heroic, nor unattainably ethical. We are not quite sure that it is genteel, or, for that matter, respectable. We even suffer from a suspicion that it is materialistic: Grace defend us!

A Practical Enthusiast

THE answer is this: The *American is the one man in the world who is equally a practical enthusiast and an enthusiast in practicality.* His enthusiasms are sincere, countless, and all-embracing, and they have a quality as unmistakable as Spanish courtesy; but his instincts and habits are practical, and his way of being practical is as characteristic as a dog's way of making his bed, or the Chinese way of eating rice.

There is no need to offer tedious proof that this description fits a majority of Americans, any one of whom, accordingly, is representative, and that there is, therefore, an American type. Typical Americans created our public responsibility for education, which all the world is imitating. Americans true to type built our transcontinental railways and the Panama Canal, cleaned up Cuba, threw the resources of their nation into a world war, created the Red Cross, mastered yellow fever and tuberculosis, and saved millions of human beings, not of their speech or kin, from starving.

To be practical is to get things done without unnecessary expenditure of energy and resources. The Hamitic, Sumerian, Semitic, Hittite, and Mediterranean races that created the ancient civilizations achieved amazing things, but at incredible cost. The Baltics have achieved things not less

amazing at enormously lessened cost, through their restless love of adventure, exploration, and discovery. The Baltic stocks that settled America discovered a possible reduction of cost, second in importance only to the substitution of knowledge for ignorance, and their interest in it was the one enthusiasm that they all shared. They perceived that, in a new world, men could get on very well without ceremonies and trappings of an old world social order, and that they might hope to escape the crushing burdens of militarism. In this perception enthusiasm and practicality were indissolubly united, in Quaker and in Puritan, in fisherman, woodsman and trader.

But, while all the colonists participated in this state of mind, only one group of them, as events were to demonstrate, saw what had to be done to convert vision into reality. The Scotch and Irish woodsmen and the English planters of Virginia were not creators of communities. Dunkers, Mennonites, and Quakers were, but their communities were too narrowly identified with kinships and peculiarities of religious belief. Welsh, Huguenot, and Dutch settlers also were community dwellers, but their communities, in like manner, were too much identified with blood and language. Only the New Englanders saw the problem in its bigness and the practical solution. They saw that a new world could be brought under dominion *only by communities of adventurers,* which must include men and women of many faiths and many kindreds, all of whom must be willing to cast in their lot with one another in common enterprises. It is true that the New Englanders did not see this until after discreditable persecutions of Quakers and Baptists, and such dissensions as those between the party of Winthrop and the followers of Ann Hutchinson. But before the Revolution they saw clearly. Bitter experiences of the colonial wars had taught them the folly of divided counsels. They saw that a specific requisite was a bond of cohesion that could hold variant adventurers together in social unity. The creation of it was the supreme achievement of their genius.

It looks obvious enough and simple enough now. All great things stare us in the face after we have been shown where and how to look. The New Englanders of the second and third generations perceived that in town growth lay vast possibilities of economic gain by trade, industry, and unearned increment of real estate, but that to insure continuing and indefinite town growth *the community itself must be an object of faith and loyalty;* that it must have mental and emotional no less than economic and political solidarity. Clear on these points, they then perceived that to secure and hold the faith and loyalty of its substantial elements a community must be dignified; that to be dignified it must be respectable; that to be respectable it must be orderly and decent, religious (at least conventionally) and regardful of morality; above all, that it must be an organization not of mere citizens as political units, but of property-owning families and prosperous homes.

They set about making such communities, and made them. The formula worked. The product was approved and imitated. The conception made its way to the Middle West, to the Pacific coast. It has moved irresistibly southward. It is the secret of Main Street and of Chicago, of Portland and Seattle, of Pittsburgh and Atlanta, of Los Angeles and Jacksonville, of Washington. It has made present-day America and Americanism. It has created the American.

This, the second in a series of articles on "America Still in the Making," will be followed in March by a third on the contribution of the Irish immigration to America.

The Hands That Rule Italy

Homemakers Are the Power Behind the Active Workers for a Greater Italy and Exert Their Influence in the Molding of the Nation's Soul

By Irene di Robilant

Countess di Robilant is Associate Manager of the Italy-America Society, with Headquarters in New York City

A FOREIGN reporter who interviewed Premier Mussolini shortly after his ascent to power asked him if it was the intention of the Government to include women in universal suffrage. Mussolini answered that he thought the women of Italy had a greater mission to accomplish and better things to do than voting.

In countries like America where women are active in political campaigns and have powerful and, in many ways, superb organizations to promote women's interest in politics and in national legislation, the attitude of the Italian premier may not be regarded with sympathy and he has been taxed with being an anti-feminist.

We hear, however, from Italy that Mussolini and his government have found enthusiastic support from the fair sex, that a few strenuous girls entered the ranks of the militant "fascisti" and that the "Fasci Femminili" composed of women of every social class and age, who do not wear black shirts but endorse the program of the Government and collaborate in the hard work of reconstruction, are numerous in Italy and are every day growing in power and efficiency. They do not seem to consider themselves ill used by Benito Mussolini. A brief survey of the life and activities of women in our country will prove that the Premier counts on them for an enormous task and that he needs them as much as any living part of the Nation for the molding of the Italian soul and the making of a greater Italy.

In the enormous majority the life and mission of the Italian woman is within the home. Marriage, motherhood are the general rules, followed by natural inclination and not, as many think, because the women have little else to do. To begin with, Italy has more men than women, so that it is comparatively easy for the latter to choose their partners.

If from a legislative point of view the father is the head of the family and gives his name, nationality and religion to the children, and if the woman consents to the old fashioned formula: "to love, honor and obey," practically we see her reign supreme in the Italian home. The household economy and the care of the children, including their education, fall to the woman's lot. In case of the father's death she is the sole guardian of the children all through their minority and the trustee of that part of the family fortune which can not legally be tied up or bequeathed away from them.

Before the war the married woman could not dispose of her property without her husband's consent. The legislation has been modified so that the woman's fortune is only tied for the part given in dowry which is supposed to assure the stability of the home. What has been further donated, inherited or earned by her, escapes matrimonial control.

ROSA MALTSUI

Mother of Benito Mussolini

Not many years ago small importance was given in Italy to women's culture. There was a prejudice against high brows and blue stockings through the idea that women would lose interest in household work and become unfeminine.

In the aristocratic and wealthy "bourgeoisie" class girls were taught at home by private teachers and governesses, often attended convent day schools, or spent a few years in the convent itself. Great attention was given to bearing, and manners in general. The pupils learned French besides their own language, read the life of the Saints, some parts of history, the two classics considered suitable, very little geography, and scarcely any science. The program sounds very modest as compared to the "curriculum" of a modern school but the foundations were good, the principles sound, and in the past generations we had women who, with far smaller opportunities than those of which we have benefited, found the time to read a great deal and to build up an amazing culture with distinctly personal and original inclinations. Besides the beautiful embroideries which the young generations look upon with pity very near to contempt, our grandmothers have left us letters showing an active correspondence with the leading men of Italy who sought in them not only advice but inspiration, and diaries such as many of us would be unable to write or think.

Our busy life makes us rush headlong over hours which develop into years, we are likely to know and do many more things than they did, but we are also apt to renounce the great missions within our reach for which we have no longer the leisure hours of thought and concentration.

In the humbler classes girls formerly went to school just sufficiently to comply with the laws. The peasants sent the boys only when they were too small to work, the girls less frequently. The comparative scarcity of rural schools and the long distance which the children had to cover on foot, were partly the cause of the scarce feminine attendance and account for the fact that illiteracy is more frequent among women than men.

This is one of the reasons which make a conservative government unfavorable to a further extension of universal suffrage. It would only mean adding a large number of irresponsible votes as a prey to political leaders who would cater to them.

It therefore appears that the first task of the Italian woman must be the furthering of education among women of all classes so as to prepare them for the political mission which will one day be theirs. The task is all the more important since educating women means raising the educational standard of the entire nation.

The convent and church boarding schools have not only gone out of fashion, but have always been referred to by a privileged few. National and

private boarding schools are scarce and generally used by children whose family conditions prevent them from remaining in the homes. So the great majority of Italian boys and girls frequent day schools and grow up under the supervision and direction of their mother, whose gentle and powerful hand guides them until they go out in to the world to earn their living, or found their own homes. The guidance ceases, but the influence remains; and leaves an indelible mark on the character, the career, the future of the Italian man and woman.

I have often had the impression that the boarding school followed by college in America, which takes boy and girl away from their homes for many consecutive years, in the very period of life in which mind and heart are being formed, is a great renunciation on the part of the women in this country. If in other fields they have gained outstanding victories they appear to have sustained a defeat in the very one where, if they wish, they ought to reign supreme.

The mother's influence over children and husband in Italy, has been remarkably felt in these recent years of political strife. The women have no vote, but the Popular Party (Catholic Democrats) built up its power mostly through the opinion of women who are greater church goers than men. The sisters and mothers of soldiers, as well as many girl students in school and university, have worked untiringly and successfully for the nationalist and fascisti parties.

In the last twenty-five years every effort has been made to encourage culture and education among women. The old prejudice is very much modified, and if marriage and motherhood are still the foremeost career for our women, it is now generally admitted that no education is too good to prepare them for so great a mission.

Facts have proved the correctness of this theory. Many women who aspired to a superior education and left the universities with brilliant doctorates and degrees, have married and made admirable mothers.

Benito Mussolini, with his wife and children

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DONNA MARIA CRISTINA ROSSI

One of the leaders of the women's Fascisti auxiliary

Outside their own homes they have taken an interest in philanthropic and social work, interest not only admitted but requested by boards which a few years ago were composed entirely of men. We now see women help in the management of municipal as well as private hospitals; we find them on the boards of education and prison inspection; they have brought about reforms and awakened the public's interest in maternity centres and foundling hospitals. The various unions, Fasci Femminili, Union of Catholic Women, Association of Women Teachers and others, have an always growing influence in having existing legislation modified and bringing about new laws for the protection of women and children.

Girls Crowd Universities

THE ancient Italian universities, whose doors have always stood open to students of both sexes, are crowded with girls. We have Medical Doctors, Chemists, Professors in various branches of learning, Lawyers and Attorneys. A few have devoted their lives to their career, but most of them have married. Their previous training is by no means lost in the home, and reflects on the children. Some women do not give up their career entirely. Others are enriched by the natural experience of the normal woman, plus what they have learned at the service of the community.

Before the war, business women were rare in Italy. They suddenly crowded the banks and offices to take the place of the men called to arms. Many, having proved efficient, have remained, and in the present hard times have been accused of increasing and embittering the problem of unemployment, an attack which has also been heard in America, but which is finding its solution with the gradual improvement of the business conditions of the world. In northern Italy we see women at the head of business concerns. One of them manages a moving picture corporation. Another is at the head of a cotton spinning plant and is unusually successful.

Writers Well Known

NAMES of Italian women writers are well known abroad as well as at home. Ada Negri is a poetess whose influence will be felt beyond her time. Matilde Serao, besides her literary productions, records a series of amazing activities. For years she was the chief editor of a morning and an evening paper with large circulation. She was active in political campaigns in Naples, published novels and short stories, traveled extensively, had an adventurous life and numerous children, so that her day appears to have been well filled.

From this brief survey it is easy to see what enormous importance women have in the life of Italy and how large a task lies before them. Notwithstanding our desire to speak entirely of the present, as so much has been said of the past, in describing the woman's place in Italy it does not seem out of place to remember that the first masterpiece of literature in which "the eternal feminine" appears in the form of the purest of inspirations is the Comedy of Dante—and that Italian Art and religious devotion in Italy found no symbol so popular, no picture so apt to suggest reverence and prayer as the beloved and classical Madonna with her arms clasped around a child.

Giolitti—Italy's Wire-Puller

The "Old Fox, the Power Behind the Scenes of Political Life for Thirty Years, Who Used the Fascisti to Fight the Radicals and Then Was Vanquished Himself, Waits a New Chance

By Paxton Hibben

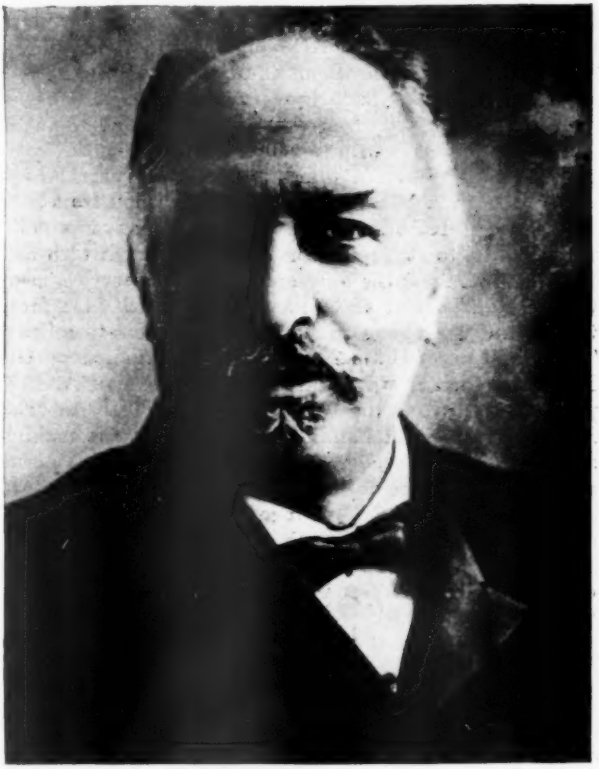
WHEN Mussolini and his Fascisti followers, wanting political power and pickings in Italy, went after the party whose block in the Italian Parliament was the strongest—the socialist-labor group—the "Old Fox," Giovanni Giolitti, real political master of Italy, ruling from the shadows for thirty years, sat back and laughed. For Giolitti is a politician of the old school, whose constant formula has been "divide and rule."

It was not on account of their economic or political views that Mussolini set his followers to destroy the newspapers, the meeting-places and the headquarters of labor unions, socialists and communists. It was on account of their organization. For in Italy, as elsewhere, the road to political power lies through organization, and the classic method of building up a new organization is to break down the oldest and largest organization in existence.

The impression, general outside Italy, that the Fascisti are an Italian equivalent of such self-styled 100 per cent American organizations as have vowed war on all radicalism is based upon the misconception that the remarkable growth of the Fascisti was a reaction against Bolshevism or Socialism or even against the progress of organized labor in Italy. But the reaction against radicalism had already set in, in Italy, before the Fascisti amounted to anything.

To American tourists in Italy in the summer of 1921, the many cryptic inscriptions written on blank walls in red paint — which meant "Long Live Lenin!" or "Hurrah for Communism!" if you knew how to decipher them—might have made it seem that Italy was on the verge of turning into a second Russia. Actually they were the left-over evidences of an electoral campaign. It was the stern realism of ballots cast and counted in the May elections that revealed the strength of communism as less than 3 per cent. of the country's voters, and showed Socialism and Communism combined as controlling less than a fourth of the deputies elected to the Italian Chamber. That was why, in Italy, they made their radicals go to the polls so that the public, instead of being played upon by propagandists of revolutionary peril, might measure the strength of the movement by the infallible test of popular suffrage. It was not until the May elections of 1921 had laid bare the factional divisions and the numerical weakness of the radical groups in Italy that the Fascisti grew strong enough to stamp them out. Actually, the Socialists and communists controlled only about half as many seats in the Italian Chamber of Deputies as were held by the parties faithful to "Old Fox" Giolitti's "constitutional coalition." And Giolitti was ready to encourage Fascismo as a means of splitting up still further their opposition.

During the generation that he has dominated Italian politics as the legitimate successor of Cavour and Crispi, Giolitti has rarely been conspicuous,



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Giovanni Giolitti

but the reins have never left his hands. Purposely, he has kept his own party—the Liberal Democrats—always conveniently small; but he was careful, too, to see to it that not two but a dozen parties were represented in the Italian Chamber, so that by combinations of the moment that bound him to nothing permanent, and by the attachment of individuals to his political fortunes through self interest, he could muster a majority at any crisis, without appearing in the role of dictator. From 1903 until the war and for two years since, Giolitti was master of Italy; but five different premiers ruled in his name during more than half that time. When the egg-throwing began, Giolitti was always in the wings.

In consolidating one of the smoothest working political machines the world has seen, Giolitti has displayed no prejudices. But the war played havoc with his well ordered combinations. Opposed to Italy's participation in the European conflict, Giolitti astutely dropped from sight during its conduct, and so gained the right to say "I told you so" at every disillusionment which followed the Peace of Versailles. For a generation he had kept any one party in Italy from reaching any considerable strength; but the moment the "Old Fox's" hand was off the wheel, the labor interests of industrial Italy, consolidated in the socialist party, grew to a strength which in 1920 dominated the political situation. Francesco Nitti, seeking to use labor to forward his own political ambitions, suddenly found that labor was stronger than he, and in June, 1920, the socialists forced him out of office. Italy stood on the brink of an industrial revolution.

At this moment Giovanni Giolitti was 78 years old. He had been in politics since 1882, and could have retired with honor. The politicians were already quarrelling among themselves over his mantle of leadership. But people had said some unkind things of

him during the war—called him pro-German and a traitor. A young ex-socialist of Milan, one Benito Mussolini, had been particularly virulent. Mussolini was trying to create a political party of his own and to ride to power on the reaction which had already set in against the socialists. These were reasons which weighed with Giolitti to stage a "come back." But they were not the only ones. For Giolitti is a patriot as well as a politician, and Italy was in a bad way. The problem of Fiume was thrusting Italy toward war. Albania was proving a trap for the Italian forces. In the Near East, Italian influence was slipping as Venizelos, of Greece, carved an Hellenic Empire out of the land of Italy's dreams. Libia had turned out a bottomless well. The peasants of Romagna, Sicily and Cremona, were clamoring for better land arrangements. And the workers of industrial Italy, with the example of Russia before them and the strongest single block in the Italian Parliament behind them, were sweeping on toward control of Italy's destinies.

Giolitti saw the situation in Italy as it was. He realized that his own political machine was rusty and uncertain. What he had succeeded in preventing for thirty years, Nitti's flirting with the socialists had brought about. There was just one way to break Italian politics up into fragments again and so conjure the danger of dictatorship—to encourage the formation of a rival group, with no unifying interest but the desire of power, and to set this new group to fighting the dominant labor group so that each might destroy the other.

When Giolitti took the steering wheel from Nitti's hands in June, 1920, that was his program. Italy was awash with the uprooted of the war—ex-service men out of jobs; landless peasants; factions of labor organizations that had quarrelled with the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro (the Italian A. F. of L., but strongly socialist in character); small shopkeepers making no money, whom war taxes were crushing; and that floating population which war in every land and age turns into adventurers.

Already, too, there was a rough organization of these, known as Fasci di Combattimento, drunk with the prom-

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GIOLITTI (center) and PRESIDENT MILLERAND (right)

Photographed in front of the Mirabeau Hotel, Aix les Bains, France, on the occasion of the September Conference of the Allies

ises of glory and empire that d'Annunzio had held out when he rushed Italy into war by a gross abuse of poetic license, in 1915. Their purpose, Mussolini had stated quite plainly: "We must break the closed circle of Italian political life which today is identified with the names of Nitti and Giolitti, representing that old-fashioned Italy, superannuated and decrepit, which obstinately refuses to die." Way for new blood! Youth will be served! was the idea. And on top of that, and to give it a somewhat less cynical materialism, all the paraphernalia of exaggerated nationalism: the Adriatic an Italian lake, the Mediterranean an Italian sea, Fiume, Albania, the Dodecanese Islands, for Italy—militarism, flag waving, oratory, a sort of perpetual Fourth of July.

Giolitti used the Fascisti first to destroy the dominant labor group and when they invaded Bologna and brought on what would have been called civil war in any other country, Giolitti let it go on. A month later the Fascisti carried the war into Ferrare, but the government did not intervene. In February, 1921, in Florence, troops backed the Fascisti in their attacks on labor organizations. There were twenty killed and a hundred wounded.

Everywhere that the labor unions were strong the Fascisti were given a free hand to break them up by force. The Fascisti were employed as strike-breakers. The organization was financed by large industrials who wanted organized labor stamped out in Italy. Confused, terrorized and uncertain, some of the labor groups began to come over to the Fascisti, whose glittering promises now included everything from better hours for labor to division of the land. The party that had held the balance of power in 1920 was shattered.

But Giolitti had played with fire, as had Nitti before him. The Fascisti had got out of hand, and even when Paolino Taddei, who had achieved a reputation as a capable "fixer" during the labor troubles in Turin in 1920, was made Minister of Interior by Premier Facta to check the growing power of the Fascisti, he merely precipitated the revolution instead of blocking it.

When Mussolini at Levanto last August had said, "We want to rule Italy. When the hour comes, the Fascisti will spring up as one man for the last and decisive battle, the goal of which is Rome," Giolitti had replied: "You want power? Take it—and see how far you get with it." But today Giolitti, no longer in the role of political dictator of Italy, is cast in that of Frankenstein. He has brought to life an adversary whom he could not stop. In Milan, early in October, Mussolini declared: "In November the Chamber must be dissolved. In December general elections must be held. If the Government will not do this, the Fascisti will." But long before November the Fascisti had taken Rome, and that Chamber whose members had formerly filed in to vote as Giolitti ordered had bowed to Mussolini.

Throughout his long political career, Giolitti scrupulously observed the forms of democracy; what Italy is today of a real democracy, is largely Giolitti's achievement. But the forms of democracy are useless to Mussolini and his Fascisti; Mussolini is dictator, undisguised. So far, he has won. Giolitti is too old to fight his way back to power once more. But should nemesis overtake a policy of promising everything to every man, and Mussolini fall as rapidly as he has risen—Giolitti, the "Old Fox," will be there to patch together the pieces of constitutional government in Italy. And it may prove well that he is!

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Italy's Gamble In Libia

Prospects for an Adequate Return on the Investments of the Italian Government, Corporations and Private Citizens in the North African Colony Seem Meagre Under Present Conditions

By Donald M. Brodie

IF nations as well as individuals may be said to stake an appreciable part of their fortunes on a "long chance," the colonial enterprise of Italy in northern Africa may rightly be termed a gamble. During the past eleven years not only the Italian government through its various departments, but corporations and private citizens as well have made investments in the new colony of Libia. The success or failure of such an enterprise is difficult to gauge, yet a recent survey indicates that the prospects for any adequate return on these investments are meagre at best.

Libia, one of the most recent and most interesting of the colonial ventures of the European powers, has received scant attention because of the overshadowing World War and of Italian restrictions on publicity. As one of the most deliberate and carefully planned projects for the taking over by an occidental Christian power of an Arabic and Moslem country, the progress of the undertaking is of moment at the present hour when mandates, racial and religious relationships are in the foreground of affairs.

The telegrams of October, 1911, that flashed to the capitals of Europe the news of the bombardment of Tripoli by Italian cruisers were no real shock to the foreign offices. England was supreme in Egypt, and there was

no suggestion at that time of any nationalist movement sufficiently vital ever to menace that supremacy. France had already established in Algeria and Tunisia the Mediterranean foundations of a far-reaching African empire that is just now beginning to take definite form. Spain retained a precarious hold on adjacent Morocco. The Tripoli coast, so ineffectively ruled by the feeble Turkish regime, was a dangling prize that tempted several of the powers, including Germany and Italy. According to all the rules of the game, in order to preserve a balance of power it was Italy's move because of proximity to the Tripoli coast to find a pretext and take possession. Italy at the first opportunity asserted that her citizens were mistreated and sent an ultimatum to Turkey demanding relinquishment of Tripoli to an Italian protectorate. The war with Turkey was of short duration and the formal treaty of peace was concluded on Oct. 15, 1912.

What may be termed the war with Tripoli, or the pacification of the inhabitants of the new colony, proved infinitely more difficult because of the hostility of the Arabs and their almost equally hostile desert. That war, in very real terms of bullets and barbed wire, is still going on.

The Italian imperialism that prompted the war was a little broader, however, than these references to balance of power in the Mediterranean imply. There were urgent economic considerations, for Italy was, and is, overcrowded and undernourished. Latin histories told of the ancient prosperity of the Libian coast, the wealth of the three cities (tri-polis) and of Cyrene and Berenice. That prosperity, the Italians reasoned, could be revived. Food would be available for Italy, and on the other hand the colonists sent to Africa would not be lost to Italian rule as are so many of the hundred thousands who emigrate to America. The wealth of the Sudan had once reached the sea by long winding caravans across the Libian sands. The resources of Africa might again be tapped in some such manner.

A further motive to the conquest of Tripoli, perhaps less articulate, but almost certainly as influential, was the recently augmented enthusiasm of the Italians to restore as much as possible of the power and glory of the Roman empire. The Tripoli coast had been the Roman province of Libia. Libia it should be as a colony of modern Italy. So the Italians restored the old Roman name to the lands bordering the Mediterranean between French Tunisia on the west and Egypt on the east, which were known as Tripoli while they remained in Turkish possession.

Libia, as now constituted, has two separate provinces, Tripolitania to the westward with Tripoli as its capital, and Cyrenaica comprising the Barca peninsula and the easterly coast to Egypt with Bengasi as the capital city. Each of these provinces has its own governor and administrative system reporting directly to the colonial offices at Rome. Some measures toward local government have been inaugurated, but in general the colony covering about 410,000 square miles with a mixed population of approximately a million, chiefly Arabs and Berbers with minorities of Sudanese and Jews, is still in the same status of military occupation that it was in 1911 when Italy during the war with Turkey proclaimed annexation.

From the firing of the first shell that burst above the old Turkish citadel at Tripoli—close to where the captured U. S. S. Philadelphia was daringly boarded and burned by Lieut. Decatur in the memorable Pirate War of 1804—to the new blackboards of

the most recent school in Derna, the Italians have labored steadfastly and energetically to make of Libia an Italian colony. Despite the curtailments made necessary by the World War, the government has spent money lavishly on a variety of projects. The army of occupation has required vast appropriations, as the soldiers receive a substantial increase for service abroad. Permanent fortifications, walls, and outposts have been constructed at great expense, as well as docks and breakwaters. The wall around Tripoli alone has cost a fortune, as it is over twenty kilometers in length, with an average height of fifteen feet, built solidly of imported cement. Light railways have also been constructed along the western coast from Tripoli and for short distances into the interior. All of these improvements were undertaken primarily because of military necessity, but many of them will be of great commercial and general value in years to come. In addition to such expenditures, the Italian treasury has made outlays for purposes without any military significance such as new schools, experimental stations for agriculture, model farms, modern markets and khans (enclosures for caravans), water works and public utilities in general.

Little Profitable Trade

INDIVIDUAL Italians, merchants and traders, have added to the sum total of the Libian investment, but only to a limited extent. The Arabs are still too restless to permit colonists to penetrate the interior, and there are few opportunities for profitable trade in the coast towns. Unfortunately there is no possibility of securing even an estimated total of all the moneys invested in Libia to date from both public and private sources. But there can be no doubt as to the magnitude of such a total. There is little room for doubt, either, but that these investments at present show few signs of yielding returns in lire and centisimi or in other than economic considerations.

Arabs Unreconciled

PERHAPS the most distressing fact to the Italian is the failure during the past eleven years of nominal occupation really to take possession of the Libian area. The Arabs of the desert are far from reconciled with Italian rule and fresh revolts have occurred throughout the past year. This guerilla warfare, intermittent and localized, has at times been sufficiently effective to force the Italian infantry back to the seacoast despite their heavy artillery and aeroplanes. The actual occupation of the Tripolitan or western half of Libia was limited very largely all last spring to the control of the coastal towns with their walls, entrenchments and barbed wire, and of a few connected blockhouses. In March two of the four light railways out of Tripoli were cut and out of commission and for a time no one was allowed to pass the second line of barbed wire not more than three miles from the coast. A close censorship kept the true state of affairs from being known to the outer world; and though it is possible that conditions have improved, the improvement can not have been extensive. Further east, in the Barca peninsula, the relations with the native Arabs have been fairly peaceful for some time, due to a treaty between the Italians and the influential Moslem sect of the Senussi that dominates the interior.

Because of this restlessness and hostility of the native population no real colonization has been possible. A few traders have opened up small shops in the coast towns and the patronage of the Italian garrisons has afforded them a measure of success. They have also

secured in one way and another part of the native trade at the expense of the local Jewish, Maltese and Arab dealers, but the inhabitants are too poor to create a really profitable market.

Another Hope Unrealized

THE great hope of the Italians, the development of agriculture, has not materialized to any appreciable extent. To the traveler who voyages along the coast from Tunis to Egypt such a hope seems unfounded, and the Roman records lying legends, for apparently the sands of the great African deserts come right to the water's edge nearly all the way. Tripoli, Rerna and Bengasi are all located in palm-shaded oases of limited area; a short stroll inland from the docks of Tripoli, for example, leads in any direction to rolling dunes. There are, nevertheless, two great plateaus that in Roman days yielded abundant harvests. One plateau runs parallel to the coast at a distance of some twenty to forty miles south of Tripoli. The other is farther east and forms the center of that part of Cyrenaica that projects northward. It is quite reasonable to suppose that when irrigation and modern methods have supplanted the casual efforts of the wandering Arab tribesmen, the old fertility will be restored. Unfortunately, however, it has been impossible to make any beginning in the Tripoli plateau, and the two or three wheat fields that were waving on the Barcan heights last spring, though apparently successful, were only experimental.

The colonization of Libia is thus as yet far from accomplishment. One of the higher Italian officials stated privately a few months ago that it would be at least twenty years before colonists would be able to settle in the interior. In order to enter Libia special credentials and permission from the military and civil authorities are required before anyone is allowed to embark from Italy.

Other economic possibilities have proved equally disappointing. Partly due to Arab hostilities, partly to the deflection of traffic through to Tunisia, but more largely on account of the development of the cheaper river routes from the Sudan to the west coast, the old caravan trade of Tripoli is practically gone, and in the judgment of many residents, foreign and native, is gone forever. A cargo of Sudanese goat skins for footgear, which was unloaded from an Atlantic "tramp" steamer at Tripoli last March, illustrates this passing of the caravan. The red dyed skins were formerly carried on camels from the Sudan to Tripoli. Now the bales of skins are carried the much shorter distances to the upper branches of the Niger and other rivers, thence by water to the ports of the west coast, up the Atlantic, and in this instance through the Mediterranean to Tripoli. Camels silhouetted against the sky line are exceedingly picturesque; but water routes are cheaper and safer.

Poor in Resources

THE espargo trade, the export of desert grass to England as raw material for paper, a flourishing industry twenty years ago, has succumbed to the competition of wood pulp, high freights and diminishing supplies. Sponge fishing in the Derna region is still the most profitable export business, but is largely controlled by the Greek divers who sail each spring from across the Ionian sea. The rocky promontories of Barca may hide valuable ores, but it is only a hope. No other endowments of nature are in evidence.

The colony is neither a source of food or raw materials, a market for trade, nor a home for surplus popu-

lation. And in the meantime, simply to hold the coast towns, large armies must be maintained with costly equipment, and millions of lire poured out that Italy, hard pressed financially at Rome, can not afford at present to spend abroad.

Whatever the opinion of the Colonial Office as to the lack of success in Libia, little blame, in the writer's judgment, can be attached to the Italian administration. The chiefs in the administrative services make a most favorable impression as able, energetic and considerate in their control of the natives. They have tried in many ways to improve living conditions in the cities and villages, and Italian lire have been spent for schools, hospitals, khans, markets, docks, roads, all sorts of public works, even Arab mosques—lire that could ill be spared from the Treasury at Rome. The Italians have paid special attention to the two great needs in Moslem countries, education and sanitation, yet all these efforts have won no gratitude. As one official remarked, "The more we do for these Arabs, the more they hate us."

The inhabitants have always regarded the Italian invasion as deliberate robbery. And this natural resentment against the conqueror has been increased by a widening of racial and religious chasms in recent years. Ideas and feelings traverse the world of Islam with astonishing rapidity and Moslems are always unusually sensitive to the affairs and reactions of other Moslems.

Native hostility thus at present prevents the partial military occupation of Libia from developing into a true colony. An expensive occupation of the entire area would in time permit colonization, but the resources in sight could never make such a procedure economically profitable. In either event, Libia remains as at present, a national gamble.

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Types of restless desert troublemakers for Italy

Italy in Books for Americans

Contemporary Italian Literature Is Challenging the Attention of a Large American Audience in the Fields of Criticism, Fiction and the Drama

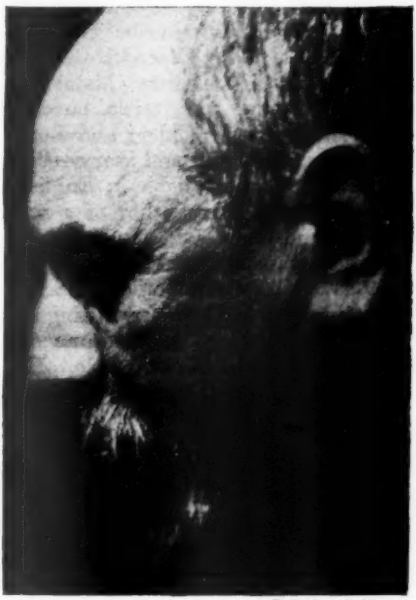
By Ernest Boyd

AMERICANS who read Continental European authors in translation must often wonder how far their dependence upon their own language is a handicap in the attempt to estimate the foreign literature in which they are interested, and to form a just conception of the nation whose mind and art are expressed in that literature. A certain responsibility, therefore, confronts those who are engaged in this task of literary internationalism. Are the books translated representative of their countries of origin? Are they important? Has justice been done to them in their English garb?

Literature plays a considerable part in the conception which one nation forms of another. It was not for nothing that the poet declared that he cared not who made a country's laws provided he could make its songs. Consequently, an interest which is social and political, no less than literary, attaches to these questions.

The outstanding figures of the older generation of Italian novelists are adequately represented in the lists of American publishers: Gabriele d'Annunzio, Matilde Serao, Grazia Deledda, Antonio Fogazzaro.

The necessary qualification which must be made in commending this choice is that one great omission deprives it of the claim to be as comprehensive as it would otherwise be. Giovanni Verga, the author of "Cavalleria Rusticana," who died in January, 1922, at the age of eighty-two, is undoubtedly the greatest figure in modern Italian fiction. His fame in America is negligible, unless we are to suppose that the thousands who know Mascagni's opera have noticed that Verga's story provided the libretto.



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LUIGI PIRANDELLO

Author of "Six Characters in Search of an Author"

D'Annunzio's work has moved far away from the morbid luxuriance of the period when his trilogy, "The Victim," "The Child of Pleasure" and "The Triumph of Death" caused him to be widely read in this country, but these books, together with "The Virgins of the Rocks," "The Flame of Life" and a recent collection of rather unimportant stories, still speak for him to the English-speaking reader. The great Fiume adventure and the ad-

vance of the years, however, have modified radically the D'Annunzio known to such readers.

There are certainly three really significant personalities in the world of Italian letters today, Benedetto Croce, philosopher and literary historian; Giovanni Papini, poet, critic, novelist and literary swashbuckler; and Luigi Pirandello, dramatist and story teller, and all three are available in English.

Croce, though the author of a specialized and more restricted public, has been translated extensively since 1909, when his "Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic" was published. A dozen or more of his works are now obtainable. His influence has been especially noticeable in the field of literary criticism. Croce has combated both the principles underlying current academic criticism in art and literature, and the pragmatic philosophy which William James elaborated formally, but which lies deep in the subconscious mind of Americans who have never studied him. An admirable exposition of Croce's ideas has been provided by Raffaello Piccoli in "Benedetto Croce: An Introduction to His Philosophy" (Harcourt, Brace & Co.), which must be counted as one of the most valuable works recently offered to the American public by an Italian author.

A more recent arrival is Giovanni Papini, whose "Story of Christ" has been translated by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Papini, though a much younger man, has been a lifelong opponent of Croce's, belaboring him with the cruelest gibes and a great deal of serious and well-founded criticism.

An excellent selection from three volumes of Papini's essays has lately been published under the title of "Four and Twenty Minds" (Crowell). Since those books were written, however, Papini has moved definitely toward the Right, and the fruit of his conversion is his already internationally celebrated "Storia di Cristo". Its appearance as a book is likely to make Papini the most widely discussed Italian author since Fogazzaro wrote "The Saint."

The converted heretic denounces the skeptics in terms similar to those he employed against Croce's aesthetic. Nietzsche is the product of "a German parsonage and a Swiss professorship," and Papini waxes facetious at the expense of a Dionysian cult which has "that grace which one would expect from a German born of a Lutheran clergyman and lately released from a chair of Helvetian learning." But, after a few pages of this kind the author gets down to the serious business of his book, which is not controversial, and has neither learned exegesis nor scientific textual criticism. He relies chiefly upon the four Gospels, making very scant use of the apocryphals, and renouncing any attempt to distinguish between what reasonable criticism accepts and what even theologians of the most orthodox type have ceased to argue.

His historical sense is vivid and has resulted in a number of most brilliant chapters. The passage in which Papini describes the state of the world into which Christ was born is dramatic.

The characterization of the Roman Emperor Octavius has a flash of the authentic Papini invective: "This deformed weakling was master of the Western World when Jesus was born, and he never knew that one had been born who was destined, in the end, to destroy what he had built up." For him the facile philosophy of the little, fat plagiarist, Horace, was sufficient: 'Let us enjoy today wine and love; death without hope awaits us; let us not lose a day.'" There is also some fine writing in the chapter of historical synthesis, "Achilles and Priam," in which Papini argues that the idea of

love did not come into literature and into the hearts of men until Christ taught them to love their enemies.

While this startling conversion of Papini has coincided with the spread of his fame outside Italy, Luigi Pirandello's name has been noised abroad in circumstances which are also connected with a sudden change in the author's orientation. Pirandello is a college professor, whose first prose work was his German thesis on "Sounds and Their Evolution in the Dialect of Girgenti," duly published in Halle in 1891. Now, when he has passed the meridian of life, he finds himself famous, not as the author of many volumes of remarkable short stories extending over a period of twenty years, nor as the writer of novels, one of which is the fountain of a new school of drama, but as a playwright, whose first play dates no farther back than a year or so before the World War. The play to which he owes this belated success in his own country, and his fame in America, is "Six Characters in Search of an Author," which made its first appearance in an American magazine, and has been produced with great skill and enterprise by Mr. Brock Pemberton in New York. Right on the heels of these events comes the publication here of a volume of "Three Plays" (Dutton) which contains that piece and two others, "Henry IV." and "Right You Are! (If You Think So)," three representative and striking specimens of Pirandello's work as a dramatist, variations upon his favorite theme, the contrast between things as they seem to us and as they really are.

In the literature of Italy which throws some light upon political and social events of the hour the translators have been busy to some purpose. In G. A. Borgese's novel "Rubè" (Harcourt, Brace & Co.) we have a study of the disillusioned mind of Italy after the war. It has been acclaimed as an historical document no less than a piece of literature comparable to Stendhal's "Red and the Black," or Turgenev's "Rudin," so perfect is its synthesis of an epoch.

Of more obviously topical interest is "The Wreck of Europe" (Bobbs Merrill), in which ex-Premier Francesco Nitti has provided the allied nations with a counterpart to the heresies of John Maynard Keynes' "Economic Consequences of the Peace." Signor Nitti belongs to that school of European statesmen and economists who, without any leanings toward Bolshevism, or pro-Germanism, or any of the other bogeys which haunt the minds of their opponents, hold that the Peace Treaty will be more disastrous than the war itself, if enforced without modifications. His own policy, which has naturally aroused much hostile comment, follows broadly that of Keynes in the matter of reparations, and includes the resumption of relations with Russia. He holds that the burden thrown upon the United States by a general remission of debts between Allies would not be unfair because America suffered less during the war than the other nations. The book is interesting if only because it reveals very clearly the economic and political facts which cause the foreign policies of the two chief Latin Powers, France and Italy, to diverge so sharply.

Even in so brief a survey as this it is possible to discern the drift of contemporary Italy as expressed in the work of these prominent literary figures. In Croce the persistence of the great humanistic tradition; in Papini the return to orthodoxy, the renewal of faith; in Borgese's "Rubè" the stuff of which Fascismo is made. Nitti is the spokesman of a traditional diplomacy, while Pirandello is the Sicilian, whose harsh fantasy serves to disguise a pessimistic philosophy of inaction.

Scouting from Jersey to Japan

Boy Scouts from Thirty-Five Nations, Subscribing to the Same Code Though in Different Tongues, Are Training for World Fellowship and Peaceful Citizenship

By Mortimer L. Schiff

Mr. Schiff, of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Company of New York City, is typical of the business men of the country who are devoting time and interest to Scouting. He is a charter member of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, founded thirteen years ago. He is now Vice-President and has recently been appointed International Commissioner

NOT long ago, there occurred in Paris an International Conference. There was no fanfarronade of trumpets; no hourly bulletins to an expectant public; no great amount of publicity, when these 134 delegates from some thirty-five countries met together; but they represented a world-wide movement involving millions of people, affecting the life of boys, and through them the lives of men and women throughout the civilized world. This significant gathering was the International Conference of officials of the Boy Scout Movement.

The average American hardly realizes the extent of the Boy Scout Movement. There is hardly a nation in which some part of the Scout program is not promoted today. Egypt numbers 6,000 Scouts; Irak, according to official figures from Bagdad, has 10,000; in the mountains of Albania, there are no fewer than 500; and a roll call of all the Boy Scouts of the world would amount to much over

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A DETACHMENT FROM TURKEY

Marching to their drill grounds

© International

FRENCH BOY SCOUTS

Photographed at the scout camp near Versailles, showing the boys cleaning up for morning inspection

a million names. Of these, America is easily in the lead of all the other countries, for she numbers nearly one-half a million boys upon her records. England comes next with about one-half of that number.

It is an inspiring thought, this fellowship and friendship between the boy from England and his brother from France, between the little representatives from Esthonia and the lad from war-torn Belgium, between the youths from Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia, Roumania, Greece, from Sweden, Spain, and those as far as Egypt and as near as South America. It is an inspiring thought that after the ravages of war, these Boy Scouts the world over are pledged to the high principles of loyalty and friendliness and it is an inspiring thought that in every country, no matter how hard may be the circumstances of their lives, men are still to be found with sufficient unselfish devotion to give of their best energy, without recompense, to the service of boyhood. For the essence of the Boy Scout Movement is that it is a volunteer Movement. The boys give of their best energy and their highest service to the community without recompense; and the devoted men who act as their Scoutmasters give of their time, their energy, their hearts and their minds, to the service of the future citizens of the world, entirely without pay.

Scouting is a man's game cut down to boy's size. The boy does not realize he is playing, because to him it is earnest effort. He goes into the country to learn woodcraft and campcraft: he scurries around the city streets hunting for Good Turns. His imagination is stirred by the Scout uniform and the Scout handclasp and salute:

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MORTIMER L. SCHIFF

Member of Executive Board and Vice-President of the National Council, Boy Scouts of America

his moral principles are ensured through the Scout Oath and Law. The best proof of the efficiency of the Boy Scout Movement is that boys like it.

Significant is the fact that as a ruddy-cheeked English school boy stalks stealthily through his native woods, a slant-eyed Mongolian is slipping among the Japanese cherry trees, a stalwart little Scout in South Africa drags his trek cart over the veldt, a group of French "Eclaireurs" are carrying their Scouting staves, and our own American boys are gathering underbrush for their camp fire. The essentials of the program are the same and the spirit of Scouting is the same in every country of the world. The spirit of brotherhood and service which we know as the Scout spirit calls upon each to give of his best efficiency for the good of the whole.

All men are thirsting for peace. The prosperity and the happiness of the whole world are dependent upon it. War is a Frankenstein, a monster which men have made for themselves. The only hope is universal education, the development of character and mutual understanding, sympathy and good will. For this, the Scouts have the means in their hands —the training of the young men toward peaceful citizenship in each country, and an International Brotherhood across the world, a Brotherhood which recognizes no difference of class or creed or country.

Scouting was first introduced into America in 1910 and over 450,000 boys are now following its program. It finds its natural affiliation in supplementing the work of two of our greatest national institutions—the school and the church. To the school it appeals, because, as one of our leading educators has remarked, it is "pedagogically perfect." The Scout method is learning by doing, which is strictly in accordance with the modern theories of teaching. By means of activities which he likes, the Boy Scout is led to acquire a whole fund of useful information which he could hardly get from

ordinary text books. Scouting wins the endorsement of the church because of the Scout Oath and Law. Before he becomes a Scout, a boy must promise, "On my honor I will do my best to do my duty to God and my Country, and to obey the Scout Law; to help other people at all times; to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake and morally straight."

The Scout Law covers twelve simple principles that make for good citizenship; a Scout is Trustworthy, Loyal, Helpful and Friendly; he is Courteous, Kind and Obedient and Cheerful; he is Thrifty; he is Brave; he is Clean and Reverent. The essential soundness of these principles is proved by their universality of appeal. The American Scout Law differs slightly in phraseology from the English. That to which our little Mexican neighbors subscribe, is a little altered in form from ours, but all over the world, from the little Mohammedan Scouts in Africa, from the Greek Catholics in the Balkans, to the young Orangemen from Protestant Ulster, Boy Scouts are reverently making the same promises.

The "Eclaireurs" of France should have a particular appeal to Americans, for it was through the American Committee for Devastated France that the first French Scout Camps were organized. The American Committee secured the cooperation of the Boy Scouts of America who sent over their Director of The Department of Education to promote the Camp at Corcy. The purpose of the Corcy Camp was not only to give each boy a vacation, but to afford the closest possible relation between the group officers and each individual boy. Practically every boy who spent the two-week period at Corcy has gone home stronger in body, more courageous in mind, more capable of doing things. The site of the Camp of Corcy is just outside the little town, ten miles from Soissons in the Aisne Valley, one of the most bitterly contested localities during the war. It is located on what was "No Man's Land" —at one end of the camp the French trenches, and at the other end the Ger-

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A Chinese Boy Scout

SCOUTS OF ENGLAND

The Jamboree at Olympia, England, in 1920, was attended by boys representing thirty-three nations.

man trenches. Assisting in the camp, beside the Director of the Department of Education were young American College students, who were glad to give of their Scouting experience, to help in the rebuilding of their brother Scouts across the water. Thus on the site of this battlefield where the Americans and French fought side by side there has now arisen a Boy Scout Camp, dedicated to friendliness and mutual understanding.

Perhaps the most significant event in the history of Scouting occurred in 1920 when 25,000 boys representing thirty-three different nations, met at Olympia, England, for the big Scout Jamboree. The Americans consisted of 301 Boy Scouts, selected from all over the country, the very finest flower of our American boyhood. There they met other boys selected from all the other nations for their especial qualities of leadership and all engaged in Scouting activities and pageants typical of their nations. It was the first International meeting of boys in the history of the world, with twenty-one nations represented. The 301 American boys were organized into eight Jamboree troops, the first of which consisted of the famous Denver Scout Band, led by the twelve-year-old drum major. Each troop carried with it as mascot, some pet, at the special request of the officials. Later these pets and mascots were given away by the different troops, the American tortoise being bestowed upon a group of boys from New Zealand and the Florida crocodiles given to some boys who lived in a country where no crocodile had ever flourished.

A procession of the Scouts of all nations, the League of Youth, with their flags and emblems, truly representative of the movement that in twelve years had reached so many boys and was destined to attract millions more, opened proceedings, led by the loud and thrilling Scottish pipers. American Indians with picturesque costumes, translated their life in the open by songs and dances. Maoris came dancing with shields and spears.

Every competition between the dif-

ferent nations, ended with cheers for each other and friendly handshakes. It was the One Big Game made up of all the games that boys have ever played since first there was hide-and-seek in the woods and hero worship for those who took the lead, and listening ears for those who told a thrilling tale. It was the challenge of Youth to an old and tired world, and all those boys from all those nations, with their courage, skill, health and joyousness proclaimed with shouts across the frontiers of strife that they had the magic password—the promise of the future comradeship.

Some of the events covered fire fighting, accident, physical training, cycling, trek cart work, camp cooking, and camp making. America concentrated on the Indian display; Ireland on legendary spectacles, and the exhibition of Irish troops in Camp life; Scotland put on a pageant showing the highland gathering and an historical episode from Scottish history; Wales gave an excellent Colliery display; France showed a day in the life of a Chevalier; Sweden brought physical training and Swedish exercises, and Switzerland, wrestling, soccer and handball. Transvaal sent a display representing native life in Africa. Blond young giants from Sweden and Denmark; dark graceful boys from Spain; sturdy boys from New Zealand; clear-eyed lads from all lands, were all one in their keen comprehension of sport, for every Scout is a brother.

No treaties were signed, but the signatures of these friends and scouts of other lands in the autograph book will be bonds of friendship for years to come and point the way for a real association of nations founded upon mutual cooperation and brotherhood.

The ruins of civilization in Europe will never be rebuilt unless the very flower of youth the world over dedicates itself to the lofty task. The World needs men of strong character, full of energy and good will, men of character and initiative, capable of daring, but knowing how to sacrifice their own interests for the common welfare. We must train our youth, the world over, to fulfill this high mission. We must protect them from demoralizing influences and give them activities that will interest them and at the same time develop them, so that when their time comes they may play their part worthily in the greatest game of all —Life.

How Ebert Has Won Germany

The Provisional President, Continued in Office Until 1925, and His Wife, Overcoming Early Criticism, Now Command a Dominating Good Will in the Nation

By Georg Bernhard

Dr. Bernhard is Editor-in-Chief of the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin

FRIEDRICH EBERT, the first President of the German Republic, has been retained in office by constitutional amendment until the year 1925. A surprising situation this—if one recalls the severe attacks and the cheap jokes of which Ebert was the mark in the first period of his administration, after his election by the German National Assembly in Weimar on the 11th of February, 1919, with the title of provisional president.

In the discussions over the new German constitution, the question of the manner of choosing the president played a great role. People hesitated for a long time between the two examples of France and the United States of North America. A large number of the members of the National Assembly favored the election of the president by the Reichstag. A "Parliamentary President" after the French model appealed to the desire for power of the Reichstag, which desired to make the president dependent upon tendencies within the Reichstag and subservient to the wishes of the deputies. But finally the National Assembly was forced to approve election of the President by the people, since an inclination in favor of the American way of electing the President showed itself more and more clearly in the popula-

The Executive Mansion of Germany's President

FRIEDRICH EBERT
President of the German Republic

tion, through which the President may become an independent influence apart from Parliament and function as a center of authority.

The new constitution of the German Republic came into force on the 11th of August, 1919. The final election of a president was, however, constantly postponed because of the uncertainty over reparations and also the uncertainty as to the boundaries of German national territory before the decision of the fate of Upper Silesia obstructed proper organization of the elections. President Ebert and his friends in the Social Democratic party insisted repeatedly upon changing the provisional presidency to a permanent status. Recently Ebert energetically presented to the Reichstag the demand that new elections be undertaken. The fact that now nearly all parties, with the exception of the German Nationalists of the extreme conservative Right and the Communist opposition of the extreme radical Left, have united not only upon postponing the elections but also on prolonging the term of office of President Ebert by a new law, is the result of the circumstance that really no party has a candidate for the presidency capable of making a strong appeal and that in any case no one in the country is popular enough to enter the field as an opponent of Ebert successfully.

His election originally was really a result of opportunism. The middle class parties had no man who was generally respected—perhaps with the

exception of Friedrich Naumann, the former social reform leader, who shifted over from the Christian-Socialist point of view to join the Democratic party. Above all they had no man who possessed sufficient standing with the workers' organizations in the increasingly revolutionary atmosphere. But even the Social Democrats did not willingly support Friedrich Ebert—one of the few really good political minds in their party—for the post of President. Thus Ebert was chosen by friends and foes with mixed feelings as the representative of the sovereignty of the new German Republic.

In order to grasp the feeling which Ebert's election called forth in widespread circles throughout the country, it is necessary to realize that the German revolution at that time had changed the minds of people in Germany much less than it has now had time to do. Then it seemed still to many men something quite horrifying that a plain Social Democrat and a former saddler's assistant should suddenly function as the successor of Wilhelm II. The fight against the new president was carried on in the press and in various assemblies, sometimes in quite grotesque ways. And the courts, in which former Imperial justices still held the bench in nearly all cases, penalized offenses against the President with quite light fines. In spite of this Friedrich Ebert has succeeded in establishing his authority throughout the country. Even his opponents have learned to respect him for his upright character and a personality which strives to act justly toward both Left and Right. Ebert has also shown several times that he is not willing to conceive of the President's office as that of a figure head. He has taken an active part in Parliamentary crises, especially in the choice of a Chancellor, and has brought together the parties when they were striving against each other. For his political activities a definite support is indicated in the fact that he is always regarded unreservedly by the Social Democrats as their leader, although formally

The park behind the President's Mansion in Berlin

FRAU EBERT

Who as the wife of the President of Germany has won general respect in her position as "first lady of the land"

he no longer holds this post. But of much more service in the strengthening of his position is his unerring tactfulness. People who have known Ebert for years are often surprised to see how, in social gatherings and receptions he knows how to avoid the pitfalls, of which there are many for a President who stands as an example in contrast to men of the old Conservative school, who springs from the Social Democratic circles of the working people, and who in the days of the Revolution yelled with them for the Republic and became their first Chancellor.

It is an irony of history that the President has his official residence in the same beautiful palace in the Wilhelm Strasse in which formerly the Minister of the Imperial Household and the most intimate and trusted servant of the Kaiser resided. In this palace, behind which stretches a great park, the Ebert family has only a fittingly modest abode. The greater part of the house is taken up with the proud public halls in which the President receives the members of the Diplomatic corps, the cabinet ministers and the leaders of the Reichstag, and to which he also frequently invites men of science, the arts, the press, and the universities.

Even more than against the President himself, the sharp wit of the enemies of the Republic directed itself against his wife, Frau Ebert. She is a woman who was accustomed to take care of her own purchases in the markets, while her husband was beginning his career, and she comes of an obscure family. Many people who are still too much attached to the old system of social privileges, although they are adherents of the Republic, were much exercised at first over the question whether this woman of the people could become accustomed to acting as a representative of the country and as "the first lady of the land." Today no one is troubled any more about this. Frau Ebert has lost nothing of her simplicity and her natural uprightness, and yet everyone who sees her acting with her unfailing tact and her great natural graciousness at the receptions given by the President, must realize that she has not failed as the representative of the nation's women by the side of the head of the state.

KNOW THE WORLD YOU LIVE IN

Under this heading are presented each month the most important action questions raised by articles in OUR WORLD—questions on which every citizen needs well-informed and thought-out opinions. This is a department to develop the thinking that leads to ACTION. If you know what a person DOES, you learn what he THINKS. And so, if you wish "to make up" your mind, to determine what you really think about any problem, you must ask yourself, "What would I DO about it?"

What Would *YOU* Do About It?

ITALY and the FASCISTI

Action Question I

WHAT would YOU, if you were an Italian, do about Fascismo?

In some of the Republics of ancient Greece there was a law against neutrality in civil strife. If a revolution was started the citizens were required to take sides. It is very difficult for a modern Italian to be indifferent to this new movement; he must be for Mussolini or against him.

Fundamentally it is a struggle between an inept parliamentary government and an untried dictatorship.

A person can be entirely loyal to the idea of democracy and still criticise the parliamentary method. It is difficult to get quick, affirmative action out of a group of politicians and debaters. Always in a crisis power tends to concentrate. England is the Mother of Parliaments, but during the War the power of government slipped from the House of Commons to the Cabinet, then to the smaller War Cabinet and in the end was almost completely in the hands of one man—Lloyd George.

The Italians, by popular acclaim, by a method as directly democratic as a New England Town Meeting, have brushed aside their Parliamentary Government and have established Mussolini as Dictator. Most Italians have greeted this new experiment with enthusiasm. But not all.

If you are an average American, you grumble at the slowness of Congress, its dodging of clear cut issues, its fogginess. Would you prefer a dictator?

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The Tide That Swept Italy's Fascisti to Power. Arnoldo Cortesi. *Current History*, Jan.

ADRIATIC PROBLEMS

Action Question II

WHAT would YOU do to make peace between the Italians and the Slavs?

Next to the Dardanelles there is no body of water in Europe which is so full of menaces of war as the Adriatic.

To the people of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—youthful, vigorous, urgent—Italy appears a senile old gentleman, whose one idea is to thwart their legitimate growth. And to the Italians, Yugo-Slavia seems an *enfant terrible*, who needs to be taught his place.

What would you suggest as a settlement of the controversy?

Prof. Allen Westcott of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, presents an illuminating analysis of the problems of the Mediterranean, under the title "The Struggle for the Mediterranean," on page 11.

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Woodhouse, E. J. and C. G.—Italy and the Jugoslavs. Boston, *R. G. Badger*, 1920.

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Struggle for the Adriatic. Charles Seymour. *Yale Review*, April, 1920, pp. 462-481.

Adriatic Negotiations at Paris. D. H. Miller. *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug., 1921, pp. 267-277.

Supplementary Questions:

If you were French, what policy would you want toward Germany?

An illuminating discussion of how great masses of Frenchmen feel is contained in the article, "The Spirit of France," by Paul Bourget, on page 60.

Are you for or against world conferences and closer cooperation on economic questions?

Senator Capper, in his article on "World Revival and Farm Prices" on page 35, and Mme. Olivia Rossetti Agresti, in her article on "The Farmers' World League at Rome" on page 42, give many reasons why the farmers are interested in such action.

What People Want to Know

Answers to Some of the Questions Addressed to Dr. Wallace W. Atwood, Director of the Institute of International Information

Sèvres and San Remo

Can you furnish me with a copy of the Treaty of Sèvres, and a summary of the San Remo conference?

THE official text of the Sèvres treaty can be found in the Current History Magazine in the New York Times, Vol. 13; Part 2; pp. 164-84; January, 1921.

The following articles will give a summary of the San Remo conference:

a. "Germany's Failure to Split the Allies." Literary Digest, Vol. 65; pp. 32-4; May 8, 1920.

b. "The San Remo Conference," with maps. Current History Magazine, New York Times. Vol. 12; pp. 379-84; June, 1920.

c. "The San Remo Conference," by H. A. Gibbons. Century Magazine, Vol. 100; pp. 699-706; September, 1920.

Turkish Words

What are the meaning and significance of the words "bey," "pasha," "effendi," when used in connection with Turkish names?

THE word "bey", when used in connection with the Turkish proper name, denotes a governor of a district or minor province; while the term "pasha" is an honorary title placed after the name, and is given to officers of high rank in Turkey. The term "effendi" is a title of respect, applied to a state official or man of learning especially.

Windows on

A Survey of the Month's Events

FRANCE FORCES ACTION AGAINST GERMANY

IF the vitally important industrial area of the north-eastern states, including such coal mining and iron and steel mill centres as Pittsburgh and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, were occupied by foreign military forces, the situation in America would be something like that created when French troops, backed up by the Belgians, marched into the Ruhr Valley in Germany and took control of the coal and iron industries centering in the great manufacturing city of Essen. This action to secure guarantees of repayment for damages done in the war followed two votes in the Reparations Commission declaring Germany in voluntary default on timber and coal deliveries under her agreements with the Allies. Belgium and Italy supported France. In order to carry out his policy of exacting guarantees, Premier Poincaré had to break with Great Britain and challenge the opinion of the United States. Sir John Bradbury, British representative, voted against the other three; and Roland W. Boyden, America's unofficial observer, while not voting, condemned the French program and the terms of the Versailles treaty under which it was put into effect.

The irreconcilable difference between the British policy of giving Germany easier terms and more time and the French policy of seizing guarantees developed at a conference of the premiers early in January, which ended in courteous but complete disagreement. France had previously rejected a non-war pact suggested as a last resort by Germany for all powers interested in the Rhine.

Germany talked defiantly about repudiating the Versailles treaty but official indications were that Berlin would not make good this threat. Chancellor Cuno recalled the German ambassadors from

the World

—The Current Chapter of World History

France and Belgium and denounced an agreement for paying for German property held in Italy, but limited his further resistance to protests to Great Britain, the United States, and other powers.

American opposition to the occupation of German territory had been made clear. The French decision destroyed the basis for a rapidly developing plan of active American aid in solving the reparations problem, favored by Great Britain, Italy and Belgium. This involved proposals for a general economic conference and for sending an international commission of bankers and engineers into Germany to appraise her actual ability to pay and to draw up a program based on impartial fact findings. Leaders in the United States Chamber of Commerce advocated this plan to Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce. In Congress Senator Borah took the initiative with an amendment to the naval appropriation bill asking the President to call an economic conference, and then withdrew his motion in order to swing in behind the administration's own program. But with the news of the Ruhr occupation all plans were dropped. Shortly afterward President Harding, supported by an overwhelming majority in Congress, recalled the last of the American Army from the Rhine.

The German coal syndicate left the Ruhr Valley, taking its technical data on operation of the mines, before the Allied troops entered. As the zone of occupation was extended, orders were sent from Berlin to the remaining German mine operators to refuse to furnish coal even for cash. With the French preparing to attempt to compel mining and deliveries, and with German industries already beginning to feel the stoppage of the essential supplies from the Ruhr, Europe and the world faced a situation of uncertain as that of July, 1914.

War Damages vs. War Debts

THE sharp disagreement and break between France and Great Britain over seizing guarantees of payment for war damages from Germany was doubtless accentuated by differences over the question of settling war debts. With a British Debt Commission headed by Sir Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, dispatched to Washington, Prime Minister Bonar Law reaffirmed in Parliament the policy that the Allies must pay their war debts to her if she is to pay the United States. This conflicted with the reported desire of Premier Poincaré to call an economic conference in which the whole debt question would be reconsidered in connection with German reparations. The announced unreadiness of the Washington administration to have the war debts to the United States brought up at such a conference, if American observers were to attend, also stood in the way of the plan.

The Allied Premiers met to discuss modified reparations terms for Germany before the end on January 15 of the six months' respite from payments granted last August. From the first it appeared that their programs would be irreconcilable. While both agreed in cutting the amount demanded from Germany to fifty billion gold marks ($12,500,000,000); Bonar Law proposed a complete moratorium for four years, with gradual resumption of payments thereafter, and opposed occupying territory in the Ruhr or the Rhineland, while Poincaré suggested a moratorium of two years safeguarded by occupying strategic areas in these regions to secure coal and timber and customs and export tax guarantees. Mussolini, for Italy, stood for a moratorium and an international loan for Germany; but finally acquisced with Belgium in favor of the French plan. The British opposition broke up the conference. Meanwhile the League of Nations voted to aid in the reparations crisis if requested.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR

"Peace on earth and good fortune for the French!" remarks Kladderadatsch of Berlin sardonically.

Turkey Forces the Greeks Out

EXCHANGE of the Greek population in Asia Minor and the Turkish population in Greek territory was the amazing expedient agreed upon after a month of argument at the Near East peace conference between the Allies and Turkey at Lausanne, Switzerland, over guaranteeing the safety of minority populations in Turkey. Nearly 500,000 Greeks in Asia Minor and some 400,000 Turks in Greece will have to change their homes under the transfer arrangement, which is to be supervised by the League of Nations. Turkey also refused all demands that she establish a national home for the Armenians, and refused any other safeguards to minorities than those extended by the Central European states under the League of Nations.

IN THE NEAR EAST IT'S DIFFERENT

"Knock it to pieces!" says France to Turkey attacking the Sevres peace treaty with the Allies, according to Kladderadatsch of Berlin. "It's not sacred like the treaty of Versailles"

Turkey further desired to expel the Greek Orthodox Patriarch and all Greeks from Constantinople; but after protests from the Allies and America it was agreed they should remain.

The control of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the rights to the Mosul oil fields in Mesopotamia remained the chief issues preventing a new peace treaty. Great Britain refused to yield the oil fields, which are in the territory of Irak under British control; while Turkey both refused to concede the right of Great Britain or any other power to them, and also denied any economic agreements at the Lausanne conference.

Regarding control of the Straits, an accord seemed in sight several times but was repeatedly delayed by the attitude of the Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora. The Allies, through Lord Curzon of Great Britain, opposed demands made by Turkey for the rights to fortify the Straits and the Sea of Marmora and to station troops there. They offered guarantees of the neutrality of the Straits under the guardianship of the League of Nations. The French delegates at the conference acted under an apparent accord in allowing the British to take the lead without opposition. The American observer opposed the international control commission plan suggested for the Straits; but throughout the conference the unofficial character of the American spokesmen rendered the policies and points of view advanced for the United States ineffectual. They concerned free navigation in the Straits, the open door in trade, and safeguards for Christian minorities in Turkey.

UNITED STATES

The League Issue Revived

A SIGNIFICANT union of both old-line and Progressive Republicans and of Democrats in a League of Nations Non-Partisan Association was announced at a dinner in New York attended by leaders of both parties including most of the leading "Thirty-One Republicans" who advocated support of Harding in 1920 as the best way to assure America's entry into the League. Judge John H. Clarke of Ohio, Democrat, honorary President of the Association, who recently resigned from the Supreme Court Bench to advocate this principle, made a stirring plea for American support for the League as the only way to avoid another world war. George W. Wickersham of New York, Republican, chairman of the Association, presiding, attacked the administration policy of aloofness from European affairs as inconsistent with the national interest and with the negotiation of a four-power treaty for the Pacific and Asia. The meeting inaugurated a movement to reopen the whole question of membership in the League throughout the country.

WAR DEBTS and how to adjust the payment of them continued as one of the major issues between the administration and Congress. The British Debt Mission in Washington published a statement showing that the British public is carrying a tax burden five times higher than the American in the endeavor to balance the governmental budget and meet payments on the debt to the United States. Progress was made toward an agreement on easier terms, to be sent by the President and the Debt Funding Commission to Congress as the suggested basis for an amendment of the debt funding bill which would afford wider powers to deal with all Allied debts.

AS THEY SEE UNCLE SAM

"The greatest disinterestedness, the greatest armaments, the greatest egotism in the world," is the satirical comment of Le Rire of Paris

BRITISH EMPIRE

England Turns to the Dominions

BONAR LAW'S plan for an Empire Conference in June, on questions of closer unity and trade between the mother country and the dominions, gives emphasis to the Prime Minister's policy of strengthening the ties binding the British commonwealth of nations. British industry is still suffering from depression due to the disorganization in former European markets following the war; and continued unemployment has furnished the Labor party opposition with an issue which has embarrassed the Cabinet in the House of Commons. Encouragement of colonial commerce is one of the chief measures being advanced in the hope of overcoming this difficulty.

IRELAND continued the struggle for the firm establishment of the Free State. Governor-General Healy took a courageous stand against the warfare still kept up by De Valera's republican irreconcilables and announced a broad program of electoral, judicial, and civil reforms. The last British troops left South Ireland; and the newly constituted Free State Parliament celebrated the passage of the first independent Irish act in 123 years. In North Ireland, which has refused to unite with South Ireland under the Free State treaty, the Duke of Abercorn was installed as Governor. The Sinn Fein forces, though maintaining their rebellion, were reported to be more inclined toward accepting the new order and the indications were that the dominion government would be able gradually to pacify the country.

INDIA was stirred by the convening of the Nationalist Congress at Gaya, where Gandhi's principles of non-cooperation and passive resistance to the English as the means of attaining self-rule were reasserted by followers of the imprisoned leader. Feeling among Indian Moslems over the Allied negotiations with Turkey in the Near East peace conference at Lausanne contributed to agitation for a new campaign of civil disobedience and for cooperation in the so-called "Pan-Asiatic movement" against Europeans.

EUROPE

France Backs Poincaré's Move

THE decision to send troops into the Ruhr Valley in Germany to secure guarantees of reparation for the devastation wrought in France during the war swung the Chamber of Deputies in behind the cabinet of Premier Poincaré in two overwhelming votes of confidence. For the moment, the Premier was unquestioned master of the situation despite talk of growing opposition which had preceded the emergency. The nation appeared practically united in support of the government's action.

A determination to reform the financial policy was evidenced by the announcement of a plan to increase taxes 20 per cent. This was expected to yield an additional amount of three billion francs, practically meeting the deficit in the budget for 1923. Further, an improved economic situation was indicated by statistics showing that France had practically regained her pre-war position in foreign trade.

Germany Rallies Behind Cuno

THE position of the Ministry of Chancellor Cuno in Berlin seemed strengthened by the popular feeling over the French occupation of the Ruhr Valley. It had been regarded as shaky because of growing resentment against the big industrialists, whom Cuno represents. They are regarded as having profited at the expense of the nation through the depreciation of German marks and the amassing of gold deposits abroad in foreign trade.

The Chancellor had outlined a plan for use of these credits as the basis of a loan and of continuing reparations payments; but failed to get their cooperation. The national feeling aroused by the French action, however, offset this reason for dissatisfaction, and the Reichstag passed a strong vote supporting the policy of passive resistance to France.

SPAIN AND HER MOROCCO DEFEAT

"Didn't you know better than to carry out an honest investigation in this country?" Bagaria, in España, imagines the Spanish judge asking Gen. Picasso, who discredited the government and the army command in a report on the campaign

Italy Begins Sweeping Reforms

AIDED by the spirit of patriotic devotion which has stirred the whole nation, the Mussolini government has begun a series of far-reaching changes in the management of national affairs. A policy of practical free trade is announced in the endeavor to stimulate Italy's commerce; and reforms in the governmental departments and industries have already led to discharges of thousands of unnecessary state employees and railway workers and to plans for the reduction and equalizing of wage scales.

The Fascisti are reported forming a voluntary reserve militia, to be incorporated in the national defense force. Meanwhile, D'Annunzio, who at first supported Mussolini and the Fascisti, is said to be holding aloof from the new government and to be considering the leadership of labor groups which are becoming dissatisfied under the rigorous new regime.

Spain Roused by Her Moroccan Fiasco

A NATIONAL crisis was precipitated by the official report on the failure of Spain's campaign against rebellious tribesmen in Morocco. Gen. Berenguer, Commander-in-Chief, was shown to have put an unprepared army in unsafe positions, with the result of military disaster. Gen. Picasso, who made the investigation, created a sensation in Parliament by his disclosures, which caused the resignation of the conservative Premier Guerra with his Ministers, despite the support of the King.

At the same time the resignation of Lieut. Col. Millán Astray, Commander of the Foreign Legion, and one of the best of the Moroccan campaign officers, in protest against the influence of the powerful army clique known as the Juntas Militares, caused an outbreak of popular feeling against the military and conservative faction.

A new Liberal Cabinet under the Marqués of Alhucemas, with Santiago Alba, a distinguished economist, as

Minister of Foreign Affairs, came into power with many promises of constitutional reforms and with plans to bring to trial the men guilty of the defeat.

Poland's First President Killed

GABRIEL NARUTOWICZ, the newly chosen President of Poland, was shot by a political fanatic at a public gathering a few days after his election. The assassination followed considerable agitation against him, accompanied by disorders, stirred up by Nationalists who charged that he represented Jewish and Ukrainian rather than Polish interests. The Assembly chose a Moderate, Stanislas Wojciechowski, as the new President.

MEMEL, the Baltic port held by Allied troops pending the settlement of conflicting German and Lithuanian claims, became a trouble center when Lithuanian forces seized the guarded area. The result was the spectacle of French and German soldiers acting together, when the French army was taking the Ruhr Valley in Germany.

RUSSIA

Baltic Disarmament Blocked

THE conference between the Baltic states and Poland and Soviet Russia, held in Moscow, to discuss a treaty of peace and disarmament, broke up unsuccessfully after a start which had appeared favorable. The final failure was due to the inability of the Poles and Russians to agree on terms for the reduction of the Polish army. The alternative of a general non-aggression and arbitration treaty, without army limitation, was rejected by the Soviet spokesmen.

Ukrainia followed the example of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia by voting to rejoin Soviet Russia in place of continuing its autonomy.

The Soviet foreign trade monopoly, which it has been proposed to merge in a Ministry of Commerce, was retained.

FAR EAST

China Again Gets a Military Ruler

SIGNS that things are as they long have been in China—despite the seeming return to the democratic principles of the 1911 revolution in recent months—appeared in the appointment of Gen. Chang Shao Tseng as Premier. Chang was favored by Gen. Tsao Kun of Chihli Province, the leader of a strong northern military faction. Gen. Tsao was also the former chief of Gen. Wu Pei Fu, the War Minister, who last summer defeated Gen. Chang Tso Lin of Manchuria in an attempt to set up a dictatorship. Gen. Tsao was expected to become the controlling force in Peking politics, and there were also reports of a reconciliation with Gen. Chang of Manchuria.

Meanwhile, Dr. Sun Yat Sen began a new attack in South China against the forces of Gen. Chen Chung Ming, controlling Canton, and was said to be returning there, following successes by his troops, to resume opposition to the Peking Government of the militarists.

LATIN AMERICA

Trouble for the Pan-American Meeting

MEXICO'S government has refused to appoint delegates to attend the Pan-American conference in Chile in March, because of the continued withholding of recognition by the United States. The Mexican administration contends that it can not treat as an equal at the council table with representatives of a nation which has no diplomatic relations with it. Further, Argentina has protested against the recent appointment of the United States Naval Mission to Brazil. Feeling over the arrangement for American technical aid in developing Brazil's navy even led to public charges of an alliance against Argentina, which called forth official denials.

MALCOLM W. DAVIS.

Financing the Farm

The Stronger and Better-Managed Farm Mortgage Banking Houses Have Adopted a Standardized Practice Which Has Put the Business on a Secure Footing

By Kingman Nott Robins

President of the Farm Mortgage Bankers Association of America

© Photograph by Moffett

Kingman Nott Robins

THE oldest form of investment in the world is the loan secured by mortgage on real estate. Such investments date back to the days of Babylon, and in one form or another have continued to the present day.

Agricultural lands throughout the centuries have been a preferred form of security for such investments, because farming is the fundamental and eternal industry supporting all other industry, and its success is vital to every human being.

The necessity of organizing and perfecting the machinery for financing agriculture has been recognized for centuries in European countries, and has resulted in the great land banks of France, Germany, and other nations. So stable has been the security behind the securities of these institutions that they have enjoyed for more than 100 years the highest rating among European investments, and have successfully withstood every shock and disturbance of credit.

In the United States agriculture has always been an industry of primary importance, but it did not assume commanding proportions until after the opening up of the agricultural West after the Civil War. With this development came the first organized machinery for furnishing money to farmers secured by mortgages on their farms. This machinery was first called into existence to help finance the purchase of railway grant lands, and out of it grew the general business of furnishing the settlers on the newly-opened lands the necessary capital, not only to complete paying for their land, but to buy equipment, erect buildings, and carry on their operations.

Until comparatively recent years nearly all this capital came from the East, and was loaned to western farmers by local banks or special farm mortgage banking companies, which were able to establish the confidence of the Eastern investor in their integrity and skill. During the boom days preceding the hard times of the nineties the East responded enthusiastically to the lure of high interest rates, and

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Consolidated Gas El. Lt. & Pr. Co. of Baltimore, First Ref. Mtge., Ser. "E".....	5½%	1952	5.55%
Kansas City Power & Lt. Co., First Mtge., Ser. "A"	5%	1952	5.60%
Grand Trunk Western Ry. (Grand Trunk System), First Mtge.	4%	1950	5.65%
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Detroit Edison Co., Conv. Deb., Ser. 1932.....	6%	1932	5.70%
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many concerns, both East and West, engaged in the business, succumbed to the temptation to loan in unimproved districts, on boom town properties, often vacant lands, and generally to conduct the business in a loose and often criminal manner. With the hard times came the collapse of such companies, and a general liquidation by Eastern investors of their holdings, often at a serious loss.

These losses were in practically all cases due to improper or inexperienced management, or downright fraud, combined with a lack of established experience in proved business practice. It is noteworthy that the large life insurance companies, which had bought their farm mortgages with discretion and care, came through this trying period with negligible losses.

Out of this testing time grew a standardized practice among the stronger and well-managed farm mortgage banking houses which has generally been adopted, and which has put the business on a secure footing. Farm mortgages as negotiated and sold by these houses, of which there are several hundred in the United States, are a standard high grade security with an unexcelled record for safety in the hands of the investor. In fact many such houses can honestly say that their customers have never lost a dollar in their mortgages.

The life insurance companies hold the largest amount of farm mortgages of any one class of investors, and own nearly a billion and a half dollars' worth.

The leading concerns engaged in this business are known as farm mortgage bankers—bankers because they invest their own capital in the first place in the mortgages they negotiate, and then sell the completed investment to the investor with the understanding or agreement that they will continue to take care of the investment as long as it is outstanding. This not only gives to the investor the assurance that the mortgage is a well selected and properly completed affair in the first place, but also that it will be maintained in good standing throughout its term. The bankers see to it that all taxes and insurance are kept up, and often advance interest and principal so as not to keep the investor waiting if the individual farmer is slow in paying. The bankers make it a practice not to let the investor have the inconvenience of foreclosure, if foreclosure should be necessary, but rather take the mortgage off his hands.

Thus negotiated and cared for by farm mortgage banking houses of sufficient experience and financial strength, there can be no safer or more convenient investment than a first mortgage on an improved farm, especially as it is a general rule of such bankers not to loan over 50 per cent. of their own appraisal of the land, apart from all perishable improvements such as buildings, which for that reason are not included in the valuation for loaning purposes.

Although the farm mortgage business has long been of great proportions, it was, until a few years ago, so conducted that it was known to few investors in Eastern centres, and in order to impress itself collectively on the popular mind and to prevent or correct abuses, forty-five of the leading houses in 1914 formed an Association which they named The Farm Mortgage Bankers Association of America. The purposes of the Association, as set forth in the preamble of the Constitution, are: to encourage intelligent legislation affecting the business; to acquire and disseminate correct information regarding the business; to aid public discrimination between such securities and dealers therein as should command confidence and those who should not; to secure

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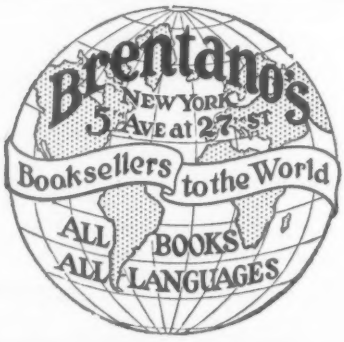

uniformity of practice where desirable; to afford opportunity for those engaged in the business to secure the benefits of personal acquaintance and interchange of ideas, by individual contact, public discussion, and in various other ways.

The Association functions through a paid secretarial staff, aided by volunteer committees and executive officers, all responsible to the Board of Governors and the membership as represented in an annual Convention. In nine years' time the Association, with a membership of six times the original number, has done much to accomplish the ends for which it was established, all of which are of vital interest to investors.

The Association investigates candidates for membership, and the presumption is that a member house is experienced and reliable. The Association cannot assume responsibility for the acts of its members, but tries to exclude houses which are not in good standing, and welcomes information which will aid in keeping the membership free of undesirable concerns. Some have been expelled, and the unethical practices of others, who were not members, have been exposed.

The Association through its staff at its office in Chicago issues information of general interest to farm mortgage investors, which is available for the asking. Much of this information is based on research and study of experts in various parts of the country, working in cooperation with the Association. Worthy of special mention in this connection is the Institute of Research in Land Economics, Professor R. T. Ely, Director, of Madison, Wisconsin. The work this Institute is doing in conjunction with the Association is of value to everyone in any way interested in land or land secured investments.

The above described constructive functions of the Association have perhaps not been so well known to the gen-

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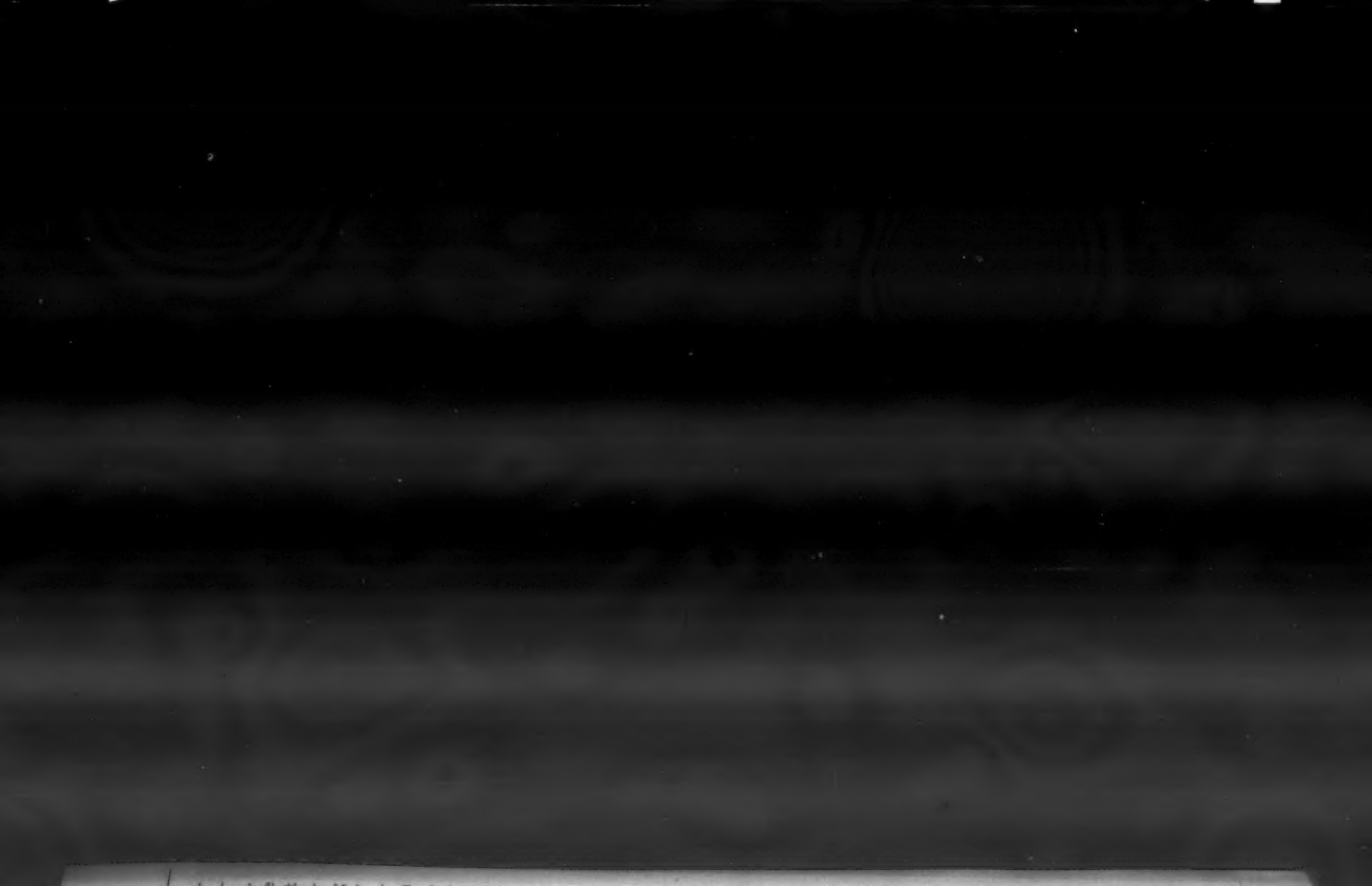
eral public as its stand on the uneconomic and other objectionable features of the Federal farm loan system. If wiser counsels had prevailed in the framing of the Federal Farm Loan Act it would have been free of special privileges and political control. So long as these elements are present they must, in the nature of the case, be opposed by all who believe in American institutions and fair play in business. The Farm Mortgage Bankers Association of America has taken the lead in exposing these elements in the present Act, and in endeavoring to free the rural credit system of the country from objectionable features.

The total outstanding volume of farm mortgages in the United States is estimated, on the basis of the figures of the last census, at over eight billion dollars. Since the Federal farm loan banks have done less than one billion of business, it is evident that those agencies for rural credit other than the Federal farm loan banks must supply the greater part of the need. The membership of The Farm Mortgage Bankers Association of America represents something over two billion dollars of outstanding mortgages, and is thus the most important factor in the rural credit machinery of the country. It is to be hoped that public recognition of this fact will result in cooperation with the Association on the part of those who are truly interested in the welfare not only of the investor but of the farmer, who must have adequate long term credit facilities. The country as a whole can prosper only as the farmer prospers. Those who have taken care of his financial needs for a half century are most likely to know what he requires, and in the nature of the case, must be most interested in improving the terms and character of this financial service.